The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME IX | New York, Saturday, December 2, 1916 | Number 109

Contents

Editorial Notes 106

Leading Editorials

- The Logic of the Railroad Inquiry 108
- How Can the Socialist Party Live? 110
- "Labor Is Not a Commodity" 112
- The Predicament of Organized Labor 114

General Articles

- The Colonial Hyphen (Immigration in the Light of History: I) ..... Max Farrand 116
- The Future of the Socialist Party ..... A. M. Simons 118
- O. Henry and His Critics ..... Stephen Leacock 120
- The Need for Conservatives ..... George Soule 122
- The Middleman in Divorce ..... Manuel Levine and Raymond Moley 124

Correspondence 126

Books and Things ..... Frank M. Colby 127

Reviews of Books

- Treitschke's Method ..... James T. Shotwell 128
- Magic and Scorn ..... Randolph Bourne 130
- Recent Publications 132

BECAUSE of the military situation in Rumania it is impossible at this moment to continue urging our government or those of the Allies to take the initiative in defining terms of peace. The propaganda THE NEW REPUBLIC has conducted recently looking toward an early peace has been based on the theory that Germany was at last on the defensive everywhere, that her man supply was failing and her economic position perilous. The argument was that since Germany stood at bay, the aggression had failed, and it was now a question of whether Germany would have to be driven from her present position or whether she would retire as a result of negotiation. The argument went on to say that the willingness of the United States to join in guaranties after the war offered the Allies a better method of security than could possibly be attained by carrying the war to exhaustion; that the United States would not and could not join in the guaranty of a vindictive peace, or a peace that merely meant Russian, Rumanian, Italian aggrandizement. The argument is still sound, we believe, but it is inapplicable at the present time, because we have underestimated the reserve of offensive power in the Central Empires. It was an error made by practically all commentators here and abroad whose sympathies are with the Allies. We supposed, as the whole neutral world did, that Rumania would not have been permitted to enter the war if Germany had not reached the end of her offensive. The tragic disaster which means the conquest and ruin of another small nation convicts the high command of the Allies and all whose sympathies go with it of a most terrible blunder in judgment. Clearly we cannot now urge the Allies to make overtures of peace to a Germany which is still ascendant, and above all we cannot ask President Wilson to intervene at a time when any action by our government would tend merely to insure Germany at the moment of her triumph. Discussion of peace terms and of international organization is still desirable, the effort to secure sharper definition of the war's objectives must continue, but the movement towards peace will have to be suspended until the Allies are on the offensive. It can be renewed only when it is unmistakably clear that the situation is actually what it seemed to be when Rumania intervened. Those who sympathize with the liberal purposes of the Allies can act only when the German offensive is finally broken.

THE behavior of the Mexican Commissioners at Atlantic City was hardly encouraging to those who share the President's desire to extend American friendship to the Carranza government. The doings of Señor Cabrera were especially disheartening in the light of any policy which aims at stable and efficient government in Mexico. Nevertheless the discussion and the agreement reached have carried us a little further. The administration will have in Secretary Lane a man specially educated in the Mexican problem. There will be three men in Carranza's following who have been told quite candidly what the American government purposes to do. The agreement signed, though on the face of it not satisfactory,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

does serve notice that General Pershing's army will not be stopped a second time by diplomatic fictions about a sovereignty which does not exist in northern Mexico because there is no one to exercise it. In view of Villa's activity it is not at all improbable that a campaign against him will have to be waged in the near future, and that the American army will occupy strategic points in northern Mexico. The only thing that can prevent this is a strengthening of Carranza through financial assistance, an effort which that pompous gentleman does everything he can to make impossible. In the meantime Villa shows increasing power. Where he secures the ammunition for three day battles in front of Chihuahua City is a mystery, but it looks as if the embargo against him were unusually porous, and that there is work to do for the secret service on the American side of the Mexican boundary.

THE least that can be said of the reported British refusal of safe conduct to Count Adam Tarnowski von Tarnow, the newly appointed Austrian Ambassador, is that it is a gross discourtesy to the American government. The reason given for it in Tuesday's cables, that Dr. Dumba was engaged in pro-German plots, is irrelevant. It is for us, not for the British, to determine how we shall deal with alien activities on our own soil. To accept the British view would be to put the United States under British guardianship. President Wilson cannot tolerate it. So long as we are at peace with Austria-Hungary, American public opinion, no matter what its sympathies, will insist upon diplomatic communication. The action of the British is a gratuitous affront to us, an intolerable humiliation which we cannot and will not endure. Coming as it does after over two years of ultra-benevolent neutrality on our part, it looks as if the forces of unreason and violence had gained control of the British government. It is unthinkable that Washington will acquiesce, or even argue the question at any length. It can settle the matter by sending an American vessel to Holland to fetch the Ambassador. There is enough sanity left in England to prevent interference.

THERE is a good chance that woman suffrage will win in New York at the election in 1917. The reports, from up state particularly, as to the activities of which Mrs. Norman Whitehouse is in command indicate that no political fight could be more closely and assiduously prepared for. The last campaign came near success, and it taught Mrs. Whitehouse and the women working with her the full lesson of organization. Every suffragist in the United States is concerned with the approaching campaign. The suffrage movement had its greatest gain in recent years when the Illinois legislature extended the franchise to women as far as it could. The accession of Illinois undoubtedly gave suffrage a new place in national politics and had significance for opinion in the more thickly populated states. But New York State would be more than significant; it would turn the balance for this nation, and consequently, if one chooses to use one's imagination, for every white community in the world. The suffrage leaders in New York appreciate the importance of their effort, not because they exaggerate the importance of New York, but because they see the political situation as it is. It is suffrage's best opportunity. Every organization in the country should provide New York with some addition to its resources for the intensive popular education and the work of political regimenting which the cause requires.

TALK about an immediate embargo on wheat or food-stuffs is not to be taken seriously—at least for the present. It emanates from sources analogous to those which a year or more ago were proposing an embargo on munitions, and considering the power of the farmer in American politics, it has far less chance of adoption than the earlier attempt to embarrass the Allies. But the mere proposal is symptomatic. Not even a Congressman of Irish extraction would have considered it worth while to suggest such a remedy, if the problem of how to feed the American people had not become threatening. It is, indeed, so threatening that the present Congress should at least prepare for the probable necessity of future action. If the war should last another year or another two years some plan of organizing and conserving the supply of food and certain essential raw materials might have to be devised. A special joint Congressional committee should be appointed to investigate the facts and consider the legislation which may become necessary.

FEW consequences of the war are more significant and at the same time more obscure than the changes which it has brought about in the domestic organization and policy of Russia. The incompetence and, in certain important instances, the actual treachery of the bureaucracy would probably have resulted in a revolution, had not the middle and professional classes been determined to push the war to a successful conclusion. Instead, consequently, of overthrowing the government, they have managed gradually to take possession of it. The new Prime Minister and Cab-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inet represent the more liberal elements in Russian society, the elements which had in many minor ways already been displacing the bureaucracy in the management of certain of the minor war services. If this interpretation proves to be true, if Russia has started a new and more promising phase of political evolution, the bond between Russia and the western Powers should become more enduring. It is very much to be hoped, however, that the more vigorous and efficient prosecution of the war will not be the only result of the liberal triumph, desirable as such increased vigor and efficiency may be. A sincerely liberal Russian government has an opportunity of proving its liberalism by redressing one of the great crimes of history. It has the opportunity of making the earlier promise of Grand Duke Nicholas good and of defining clearly how far it is willing to go in restoring autonomy to Poland. The promulgation of an acceptable outline of a Polish constitution would obtain the confidence of liberals over the world and would constitute the only effective retort to the recent attempt of Germany to win Polish support.

RUSSIAN liberals, are, it is well known, far more resolved than was the Russian bureaucracy to keep on fighting until Constantinople is won. Yet if they succeed in this ambition, they would be exposing Russian liberalism to future dangers, which it would scarcely be likely to survive. Should Russia occupy Constantinople in spite of the opposition of the Central Powers and of some of the Balkan states, the Russian government after the war would be confronted with a military problem of the utmost difficulty. It would have to defend an outpost of the Empire against powerful enemies who under ordinary circumstances would control the approaches to the outpost. Russia could not be secure in Constantinople unless Russian armies dominated these approaches, which would mean Russian military preponderance throughout the Balkan states and the maintenance of a huge army for the carrying out of an aggressive policy. The strain placed on the physical and moral resources of the country would result in a serious threat to the future development of liberalism in Russian domestic affairs. Perhaps German opposition could be bought off, but only by allowing Germany a free hand in seeking to obtain compensation at the expense of Great Britain and France. The one disposition of Constantinople which offers some prospect of preventing it from continuing to be a bone of contention is to internationalize it. It is interesting that Sir Edwin Pears, the Englishman whose knowledge of near-eastern politics is most comprehensive and exact, favors its neutralization under international guaranties.

JOSEPH HARTIGAN, Commissioner of Weights and Measures of New York, in the course of an investigation throughout the state to ascertain the practicability of a terminal market system for New York City said that indications were that out of every dollar paid by a New York family for its food, only 35 cents went to the farmer or producer. Cartage, storage charges and wrapping added only a few more cents to the ultimate cost—the large balance went to various middlemen. Certainly here is an indication of waste and duplication of profits of vital interest not only to consumers, but to producers as well. Many dairy-men are giving up their own small farms and accepting jobs as farm-hands, simply because they cannot get enough for their product to pay them. When Mayor Mitchel last week suggested that the street-cleaning carts, which now return empty from the docks after depositing their loads, be filled with coal from terminal yards and then sent to consumers or local dealers in their respective districts, he clearly revealed some of the enormous waste of industrial time and effort lost in our chaotic system of distribution. The criss-crossing of competitive milk "routes" is but a more obvious example of a waste which permeates the whole middleman scheme. Pessimists say only a war or an abnormal rise in the cost of living will bring about any attempt at effective organization. As a matter of fact many isolated efforts towards remedying the more glaring defects have been made many times. The recent sharp rise in the prices of necessities may bring these strivings for an intelligent distributing system to coöperation and achievement.

The Logic of the Railroad Inquiry

AMONG the many problems which will confront President Wilson and the Democratic party during the next four years, none will subject their governing ability to a severer test than the problem of readjusting by legislation the relation between the American nation and its system of transportation. The need of some readjustment is so manifest and notorious that a joint Congressional committee is now conducting a comprehensive investigation of the operations of the existing system and of the proposed remedies for its defects. The investigation may or may not be finished during the short session of Congress; but whether it is finished or not, the work of legislation will have to be postponed until the long session of the new Congress. Remedial or constructive measures will then be submitted, and upon the scope and object of this legislation much of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

political and economic history of the next four years is likely to depend. In the drawing of these measures the Democratic leaders are being presented with a rare opportunity—an opportunity analogous to that of a general when he launches a very promising offensive campaign against a powerful but comparatively inert enemy. They have the opportunity of selecting and defining the domestic issue upon which the election of 1920 will have to be fought and of establishing the Democracy in the minds of the American people as unequivocally and incontestably the national progressive party. But they cannot seize the opportunity unless they have the courage of a great conviction—unless they are prepared to venture beyond the immediate demands of public opinion and propose a thoroughgoing program of railroad nationalization.

What the grounds of this conviction may be we shall consider presently, but, in deciding upon it, too much should not be expected from the results of the inquiry now being conducted by the joint Congressional committee. That body will embody in its record a large amount of more or less useful information, and a large number of more or less disinterested and intelligent opinions; but only a very innocent person will count on its ability to formulate and recommend a program of legislation which is clearly called for by the facts in its own record. The Committee is almost certain to divide, not merely on the issue of nationalizing the railroads, but upon the scope and methods of future public control over them. Any authority which the recommendation of the majority is likely to command will be impaired by counter-recommendations of one or two dissenting minorities. The report, consequently, will constitute the beginning rather than the end of a prolonged controversy. It will help Mr. Wilson and the other Democratic leaders to find facts in support of any policy they may decide to adopt; but it will not help them to formulate the policy itself. The objects and the scope of the legislation will have to be determined by their own analysis of the reasons why the results of the prevailing regulations have been on the whole unsatisfactory, by their own conception of the kind of economic instruments which an industrial democracy needs for its sufficient development, and by their own estimate of the readiness of American public opinion to welcome a radical solution of this critical and stupendous problem.

The existing system of regulation has had many useful results, but it is fundamentally unsatisfactory, because it involves, if not an impossible, at least an excessively difficult accommodation between conflicting private and public interests. Railroads are, of course, public utilities, and have been so recognized in American law. But our legislators have adopted at different times very different methods of satisfying the public interest. At first they considered railroads as an economic summum bonum, whose multiplication was to be encouraged at any cost. Railroad mileage would increase in volume almost in proportion to the opportunity for private profit afforded by railroad construction and operation; and in the interest of an abounding increase the promoters, owners, and operators of railroads were granted a free hand and profited enormously thereby. The result was a wonderfully rapid growth of railroad mileage and an equally rapid growth of practices in railroad rate-making, financing and operating which were grossly subversive of important public interests. The work was then undertaken of curing these abuses by public regulation, which implied a withdrawal of the previous trust in railroad profiteering and aimed to subordinate its operation to the public benefit. During the past ten years many abuses have been cured, but neither the American people nor the railroad companies are satisfied with the resulting compromise between public and private interests. The latter declare that private capital will not invest in an industry whose owners have so little control over its operations and reap such meagre profits out of their investment. But popular opinion is insisting on more regulation rather than less. Not only is there no disposition to renew the trust which was once reposed in the private management of railroads, but after the willingness of the railroad presidents last summer to permit the awful calamity of a complete paralysis of the transportation service, the proposal is now being made to take out of their hands the determination of the compensation and conditions of labor. The nation which was once willing to confide all public interests involved by transportation to the results of profiteering by railroad promoters and managers is becoming less disposed than ever to confide to those gentlemen any public interests.

It is this lack of confidence by popular opinion in the results of the private management of the railroads which constitutes the real malady of the American transportation systems. It has not been cured by the existing methods of regulation, and it will not be cured by any of the proposed improvements in the existing machinery, many of them in themselves excellent, which are now being proposed by the representatives of the railroads. In spite of a national incorporation law or of the regulation of interstate commerce predominantly by a central commission, investors will still be reluctant to lend their capital to an industry whose

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nominal owners exercise such imperfect control over its operations; and because of this reluctance the necessary improvements and extensions to the existing railroads will not be made. Yet the need of reposing more confidence in the private management of the railroads, in order to provide the needed supplies of capital, will not persuade popular opinion to grant that confidence. It will refuse, not because railroad managers, when measured by the standards of their class, are not upright and able men, but for the same reason that public opinion in other countries has uttered a similar refusal. If the business of transportation, so vital to the prosperity, the social welfare, the very safety of the community, is trusted to the results of private profiteering, some aspect of the public interest involved is certain to be sacrificed. Every phase of railroad promotion and management affords opportunities of making profits not by serving public interest but by ignoring it. Under private management the chief object of railroad management will always be to take advantage of these opportunities of private profit. It is in effect licensed to do so by the state. Railroads attract capital and business ability in so far as they offer large rewards. Yet when large rewards are reaped from the conduct of such essentially public business, popular opinion is instinctively and justifiably repelled.

A large amount of waste, altercation and blundering will be saved if the consequences of this situation are frankly recognized. The American railroad system will never be cured of its existing malady until it is restored to an undivided allegiance. The allegiance which it formerly owed to its stockholders must be transferred to the nation. That is what nationalization of the railroads means; and that is the result which Congress has been trying unsuccessfully to accomplish by administrative regulation. Such regulation can at best only prepare the way for ultimate nationalization. Congress ought to be investigating at the present time not the questions whether the nationalization of the railroads is advisable, but the means by which the result can be most smoothly and effectively accomplished. This question of the method whereby nationalization can be obtained is the all-important one which is most in need of investigation, and not until Congress acts upon this view of the situation will the route be cleared for the adequate treatment of the railroad problem.

Any party which proposes to rule the nation must have the courage and the vision to come out in favor of railroad nationalization. It constitutes the next step in creating a national economic structure for the American democracy. It would give to the American people the same interest in the perpetuation and the success of the central government that the Constitution and the Hamiltonian financial measures gave to the property owners. They inhabit a country of vast extent which has become and remained a nation in consequence of railroad development. Their transportation system is by far their most important collective economic instrument. They not only travel by it and ship over it, but to a greater or smaller extent they live on it. If they could consider it their own, as a national service, dedicated with an undivided allegiance to the promotion of the public welfare, their sense of the value to them of the political system of the country would be enormously enhanced. The American citizen would then become a partner in a great business enterprise, whose success was essential to the national welfare. He would vote not only as the member of a class or as the resident of the locality but as a shareholder in the national railroad system. The mere fact of his being a shareholder would not, of course, qualify him for the exercise of the power any more than the appointment of a man to public office immediately converts him into a public servant. No matter who owns the railroad system of the country, it will be nationalized, less by virtue of the fact of government ownership, than by its subsequent operation in the national interest. But the mere change of ownership will accomplish much. Although the problem of railroad nationalization will still remain to be solved, it will be restated so as to overcome the most formidable barrier to its solution. The greatest of all national interests will be removed from the region in which private profits are permissible, and transferred to the region in which profiteering is disreputable and intolerable.

How Can the Socialist Party Live?

NOTHING by this time should be more obvious to Socialist leaders in this country than that their party is not developing according to the predictions of Socialist theory. The drift in the nation toward more complete industrialism, the increase of the proletariat, the concentration of the power of capital—all these things do not seem to add strength and numbers to revolutionary protest. Thriving and important Socialist parties exist in every other industrial nation in the world—except England, where, roughly speaking, the labor party attends to the politics and the Fabians to the intellect of the movement. But in the United States, during a period of immense industrial expansion, and in years of war abroad which aroused the full strength of pacifist and radical emotion here, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Socialist vote has actually shrunk. What is the matter? Mr. A. M. Simons in this number makes several highly important charges against the party attitude, its tactics and its press. Yet one need not share his opinions to see that friends of the party must make a searching analysis if the Socialist movement is to have any future in this country.

We are of the opinion that specific flaws, important as they may be, would not alone suffice to wreck a well founded political movement. After all, a party which has even a few such able men among its leaders as Morris Hillquit should thrive if it meets a real political need. What must now be done is to forget, temporarily at least, all the dogmas and preconceptions which have formed such a large part of Socialist policy in the past, and to look squarely at the American situation today in the light of what the Socialists hope to accomplish.

The complete returns are not at hand for anything like a scientific analysis of the 1916 vote, nor would it be possible in a short article to marshal evidence for anything more than a tentative diagnosis. What follows, therefore, is submitted rather as a suggestion of the sort of problems that must be considered than as a solution of any.

Two years ago THE NEW REPUBLIC aroused much antagonism among Socialists by pointing out the fact that the party was not developing according to the predictions of Marx and Engels: that its increase was greatest not among industrial but among agricultural communities, that in some industrial communities it was losing ground in proportion to the total vote. We further showed that society itself was not drifting in the prescribed direction, that the industrial proletariat was still an actual minority and was likely to remain so for some time, that it gave little promise of solidarity, and that "the Socialist party thus faces the problem of how, with a minority of the proletariat, itself a minority of the voters, it can attain to political power." The obvious inference was, of course, that the party would probably become less doctrinaire and revolutionary, and more liberal and opportunist. The incomplete returns for 1916 seem to show that the party has now suffered actual losses in many industrial strongholds, that if there are any gains of importance they occurred in agricultural states; and the burden of Mr. Simons's attack is that the party has largely given up its birthright of theory for opportunist methods. This exchange does not seem to have been altogether salutary.

We believe the most suggestive charge of Mr. Simons is that the party has not conceived thoroughly enough the specific American situation. Why is it that Socialist power here lags so far behind Socialist power abroad? The answer must lie fundamentally in the characteristic differences of our political structure. In Germany, for instance, the Socialists faced a monarchy completely capable and usually willing to achieve centralization of economic power, a philosophy in which the state played a part of the utmost importance. Little by little Germany has put into practice much of the Socialist economic program—not, to be sure, for the benefit of the workers, but for the sake of the efficiency and power of the state. The principal feature lacking has been democratic control. Under these conditions a revolutionary party must thrive. Its problem is to organize and make effective the proletariat's demand for power over a system already developing in accordance with its own economic theories. If the Socialist party ever gains control in Germany it will do so through the extension of political democracy, and it will step into control over a system of social and economic machinery already turned to its hand. The impetus behind the fight has really been the demand for democracy, rather than for a complex structure of the state to be built according to a preconceived theory. In the United States the situation has been the reverse. Almost from the beginning we have enjoyed universal manhood suffrage, and we have had no hereditary aristocracy to solidify democratic opposition. The task of the Socialists here was not to fight for the political power of the proletariat, but to spread propaganda for an economic and social philosophy among the voters themselves. The party had to work for the organization of the state rather than for the ascendancy of the people. How much more difficult it is in politics to establish a new theory than to wage a warfare for power over existing institutions any practical politician will bear witness.

This situation is further complicated by the difference in party system between America and Europe. In Germany, as in most of Europe, the legislative body is split into a number of parties, each representing not so much an abstract philosophy of government as a specific element in the community. The program of each party is determined by the interests of the class which composes it. Here, however, the two-party organization has blurred the lines of class interest, and while some few classes have for the time being allied themselves with one party or the other, it has been the task of the party leaders not so much to represent the desires of any particular group as to pretend that all groups have essentially the same interests, and to win the support of new groups from time to time by incorporating their demands in the national program. Third parties have been effective in the United States only in one of two ways—either by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contributing their ideas to one of the major parties, or by superseding one of them.

If these conditions are to remain, the dilemma of the Socialist party seems almost hopeless. In a choice between a return to its traditional revolutionary theory based on the interests of the industrial proletariat, and a development into a liberal, opportunist party, there is little to recommend either policy. The industrial proletariat, even if it were in a majority, could not be politically solidified so long as the issue of democratic power is not sharp and the workers have even a little to gain from the victory of one of the two great parties. On the other hand, a liberalized Socialist party could not hope for ascendancy unless it could suddenly spring into the place of one of the great parties; and this is not likely to happen so long as the leader of one of these parties, as in the recent election, can make a strong plea for liberal support. The Socialists might, to be sure, adopt an educational policy similar to that of the Prohibitionists for the past twenty years. They might be content to sacrifice any real political force as an organization for the sake of their propaganda, hoping that eventually their program would be adopted by others. But such a policy must obviously be a last resort.

There are likely to be changes in the fundamental situation, however, which the Socialists should watch carefully for a possible advantage. In the first place, our state is now at last rapidly becoming more centralized, and its power over industry must greatly increase in the near future. If the central government is to take active measures in regulating industrial disputes, if it is to fix wages and hours as well as rates, if its military power is to be extended, the workers of the country will certainly be greatly solidified, and they will feel a far more urgent need for real representation at Washington. It is a question whether either of the two great parties can undertake that representation without so sharpening the divisions within itself as to cause a split. At the same time the other economic groups of the country—the farmers, the manufacturers, the middle-class liberals, are becoming more acutely conscious of their differing interests and are organizing more compactly to further their political demands. It is quite possible that we shall in the next few years see a break-up of our traditional two-party system. In that case will come the Socialists' opportunity. It may be that the Socialist program will be approximated by a labor party. It may just possibly happen that the Socialist party itself will capture the labor vote. If, on the other hand, the two-party organizations hold together, the Socialists may look at least for a greatly increased labor solidarity.

Whatever happens, the Socialists will be ill prepared for anything except failure unless they clean house thoroughly, establish a far-seeing and courageous leadership, open their press to broader discussion and more of the facts, and learn to look at the situation less from the angle of European tradition and more from the angle of American opportunity.

"Labor is Not a Commodity"

THE threat of the American Federation of Labor, at its annual meeting last week, to disregard any injunction based upon the conception that labor is property indicates a frame of mind that may well become alarming if it is not met with sympathy and understanding. The emotion behind the ringing report adopted by the convention is a noble one, one that appeals to the laboring man's finest impulses. It is a yearning for independence and self-respect, for economic emancipation and a revolt against the whole proprietary attitude which capital so often takes toward labor, which looks upon a workingman as a thing of value, to be appraised according to output, skill, endurance and docility. "That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce," is full of intense meaning to the union men who insisted on its enactment. The workingman who has found his strike for higher wages and better conditions blocked by the cold decree of a class-biased judge knows how it feels to be looked upon as the property of his employer.

What makes this impulse threatening is that it has been blocked and misled into blind alleys not only by labor's enemies, but by its guides and advisers. The technical task of translating labor's yearning into a legal enactment has been wofully botched by its leaders. The rallying cry that labor is not a commodity or a property right has been attached, whether by design or by accident we do not know, to a legislative program which does not give labor what it wants, or what it thinks it is getting. A layman as a rule has no stomach for technical legal argument. That is one of the reasons why the lawyers in Congress find it so easy to pass laws which seem to do one thing, but really do quite another. The result has been that Congress has passed a law which organized labor firmly believes has exempted it from the Sherman law, but which in reality is skilfully drafted so as to do nothing of the kind.

There is no doubt that labor thinks it has been exempted from the Sherman law. In so far as this belief is based on more than a blind faith in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what the Federation leaders have told them it seems to rest on the argument that the Sherman law makes it illegal to restrain trade in "articles of commerce," and that by declaring labor to be not an article of commerce, you take it out of the Sherman law. But you do nothing of the kind. When the Danbury Hatters were compelled to pay triple damages for violating the Sherman law, it was not because the Supreme Court thought labor was a commodity. It was because hats are a commodity. The boycott of the Danbury Hatters restrained trade in hats, not in labor. When Debs was sent to jail for violating an injunction against interfering with interstate railroads by calling a strike, it was not because the labor of the men whom he called out was an article of commerce but because the things the railroad was carrying, and the railroad cars themselves were articles of commerce. Had the Clayton act been then in force it would not have changed either decision.

The rest of the section does not get us any further. "Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor" and other "organizations, . . . or to forbid or restrain the individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the anti-trust laws." This is the work of a skilful draftsman. It is made to sound like an exemption. But closely examined, it exempts nothing. In so far as it merely sanctions the "existence" of labor unions, it is meaningless, for their existence has never been supposed to violate the Sherman law. The word "operation" adds nothing, for by canons of construction familiar to lawyers, this means "lawful operation." The word makes nothing lawful that violated the law before the Clayton act was adopted. Aside from this, the unions are simply allowed to "lawfully carry out the legitimate objects" of a union. If the courts think a boycott like the Danbury Hatters', or a strike like that of Debs, to be unlawful and illegitimate (and they are by precedent bound to do so) the Clayton act does not apply to them at all. The clause that labor unions and their members shall not be held to be illegal combinations adds nothing. Being is not a crime. It is what he does, not what he is, that lands a man in jail. The Danbury Hatters were mulcted because they conducted a boycott, not because they were a union. At most the phrase means that the mere existence of labor unions is not in violation of the Sherman law; but this has always been the law.

The provision prohibiting injunctions in the federal courts in labor cases "unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to property right" is worse than useless, from the point of view of labor. The phrase harks back to an old doctrine of equity, that injunctions may be issued only to protect property, and not to protect personal rights, a doctrine against which modern jurists have strongly and justly protested, and which modern courts have shown a wholesale tendency to disregard. The Clayton act intrenches it in our federal jurisprudence, in just the field of litigation in which personal rights are most in need of adequate protection. The theory on which the provision was justified to the labor leaders seems again to have been that, since labor is not a commodity, to call a strike is not to affect a property right, so that no injunction will be given. But, as the lawyers who framed the section well knew, when a strike is called it hurts the employer in his whole business—his profits fall off, his plant lies idle, and he is deprived of its use. And the courts have held so often that it is now settled law, that a man's business is property. The provision, therefore, will not prevent a single injunction to protect an employer against a strike. If it has any effect, it will be to prevent courts issuing injunctions against blacklists circulated by employers against workmen. If a workingman asks for an injunction against a blacklist, the court will tell him that since it can issue injunctions in labor cases only to protect property, and since his labor is not property, it cannot help him. Such is the doctrine into which labor's noble revolt against the conception that it is the employer's property has been perverted. It has led to a law which denies that a man's labor is his own property. Could the National Association of Manufacturers have framed a section more favorable to capital and more hostile to labor?

The only section of the Clayton act which is of any value to labor is that which gives, in a limited class of cases, trial by jury for violation of an injunction. It applies only where the thing which the workingman has done is not only a violation of the injunction, but also a crime. As far as this goes, it is a distinct gain, for one of the worst features of labor injunctions has been the fact that a violation of the injunction was tried by the judge who had issued it, and who naturally felt that anything that savored of a violation of it was a personal affront to him. But the section does not go far, and it is doubtful whether a laboring man will be very anxious to brand himself a criminal by claiming its protection. And it is not for this section that labor has been taught to treasure the Clayton act.

The men who are now complacently enjoying

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the success with which they have misled the officials of the American Federation of Labor may well spend a few minutes in sober thought. The counsel of lawlessness at the convention last week was not mere bravado. It was made by responsible men who had carefully weighed what they were saying. What will organized labor do when it discovers that it has been defrauded? If the courts decide that despite the Clayton act unions are still subject to the anti-trust laws, and still liable to injunction, as they inevitably must, will they not take this to be a challenge daring them to carry out their threat? To those who are concerned over the lack of popular confidence in the courts the prospect is most ominous. Labor leaders have staked so much on this legislation, this Magna Charta of American labor, that it will be hard indeed to persuade them that it will not be the courts that are to blame, but a pusillanimous Congressional committee of lawyers who were willing to draft a deceitful statute and shield themselves against the wrath of labor behind the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Predicament of Organized Labor

THE Adamson law has involved the American Federation of Labor in a predicament unparalleled in the long presidency of Mr. Samuel Gompers. Year after year the Federation under the leadership of Mr. Gompers has gone on record as vehemently opposed to the eight-hour day by legislative enactment and in favor of direct action as the exclusive means of securing the shorter work day. There has, however, been a growing minority in the conventions of the Federation favorable to legislative enactment. When Mr. Gompers publicly supported the railroad Brotherhoods in their acceptance of the Adamson law as a substitute for direct action, this minority, led by the Socialist delegates and supported by such liberals as Mr. John Mitchell, saw their opportunity to reverse the traditional policy of the Federation. No other question was so generally discussed by the delegates when they assembled in Baltimore on the thirteenth of November. The minority was prepared to force the issue, and they were fully convinced that Mr. Gompers's known attitude toward the Adamson law would enable them to carry the convention. But something happened. The question was not even debated. The Federation adjourned apparently facing both ways on a fundamental question of trade-union policy.

What happened is not now, and probably never will become, a matter of record. But one does not need the gift of divination to penetrate the mystery. No subject has been more extensively debated in previous conventions of the Federation than this issue between the advocates of the eight-hour day by legislative enactment and the advocates of direct action. The debates are fully recorded in the annual reports of the Federation, and the leading arguments on the two sides of the controversy supply an illuminating guide to the mystery of the Baltimore convention.

Mr. Gompers has always been the foremost antagonist of legislative intervention in the field over which organized labor claims jurisdiction. He summarized his position in the convention held in San Francisco in 1915 when he said:

> I am unwilling as one to place within the power of a political agent, call him what you please, the right to govern my industrial liberty, or the industrial freedom of my fellow workers. There never was a government in the history of the world and there is not one to-day that, when a critical moment came, did not exercise tyranny over the people.

He has elaborated this argument in his repeated denunciation of the arbitration laws of New Zealand and Australia, the compulsory investigation laws of Canada, and more particularly in his plea to organized labor to defy injunctions issued by courts that persist in treating human labor as a commodity. Legislative enactment, he has always contended, means the subjection of organized labor to the courts. And subjection to the courts, he has consistently held, means subjection to tyranny. Upon this contention he has repeatedly staked his leadership in the American Federation of Labor and until this year his ability to carry the Federation with him has never been seriously in doubt.

But Mr. Gompers's support of the Brotherhoods in their acceptance of the Adamson law had given the advocates of legislative enactment a weapon which seriously threatened his ability to determine the policy of the Federation upon this crucial question. In the early days of the Federation, the Socialists were almost alone in their advocacy of legislative enactment. For many years they remained in a hopeless minority. But as the country became permeated with the social spirit which received political expression at the hands of the Progressive party in 1912, various state federations of labor, especially in the West, openly championed the enactment of eight-hour laws by their respective state legislatures, in defiance of the official action of the American Federation. In the San Francisco convention of 1915, delegates from such states as California, Washington, and Illinois bitterly complained that Mr. Gompers's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

utterances and the action of the convention had seriously handicapped their efforts to secure state laws establishing the eight-hour day. This action of state federations in championing eight-hour legislation gradually strengthened the minority in the national body, and developed a sentiment which, when reinforced by Mr. Gompers's own support of the Adamson law, convinced the minority leaders in the convention of this year that their victory was in sight.

Why then did they permit the Baltimore convention to adjourn without forcing the issue? Their principal argument in support of legislative enactment has always been that the organized labor movement represents a small minority of the wage workers, and that this minority, because of the debased economic and social conditions under which it is compelled to live, can neither be organized nor organize itself. Their contention has been that for the great rank and file direct action is not only impracticable but impossible, and that a prerequisite to the possibility of their organization is the improvement of their economic condition through legislation.

Had the question come up for debate this year, this argument would undoubtedly have received new emphasis. But this is one of the main arguments advanced by the railroad managers against the Brotherhoods and the Adamson law. The Brotherhoods represent approximately four hundred thousand out of a total of almost two million railroad employees, the great majority of whom are unorganized. Had the advocates of legislative enactment at the Baltimore convention based their leading argument upon the needs of the great unorganized rank and file, and had they then succeeded in carrying the convention, they would have made it possible for the railroad managers to place the entire Federation in apparent opposition to the Brotherhoods. It was undoubtedly this consideration that enabled Mr. Gompers to persuade the minority leaders to forego debate on the question at this time. Both sides to the controversy are eager for the affiliation of the Brotherhoods with the Federation. The minority were unwilling to risk even apparent opposition to the Brotherhoods, and they were therefore persuaded to accept Mr. Gompers's support of the Adamson law as a pledge of future victory for the policy of legislative enactment.

If this interpretation is correct—and it rests upon the opinion of some of the ablest delegates to the convention—the predicament of Mr. Gompers and those who have hitherto supported him in his exclusive allegiance to direct action is likely to extend far beyond the eight-hour question. If the Supreme Court should declare the Adamson law unconstitutional the predicament would be resolved; the Brotherhoods would then be compelled to strike. They would undoubtedly have the support of the American Federation of Labor and the principle of direct action would be solidly reëstablished in the organized labor movement. If, however, the Adamson law is sustained, the Federation will have to reconsider its traditional attitude not only toward the eight-hour day but also toward such matters as social insurance, the minimum wage for men, and especially toward arbitration as a substitute for strikes in the adjustment of labor controversies.

For if the Adamson law withstands the test of the Supreme Court it is inevitable that Congress will proceed to the enactment of further legislation in the direction of President Wilson's recommendations at the time when the law was passed. Mr. Gompers and the Federation have consistently denounced not only compulsory arbitration but also compulsory delay of strikes pending an investigation. They have been vehement in their denunciation of the Canadian Industrial Disputes act and of the systems of arbitration in vogue in New Zealand and Australia. But if the Federation is finally compelled by the Adamson law to accept the principle of legislative enactment they will find general denunciation of further governmental intervention utterly futile. The question will no longer be whether or not the labor movement will accept arbitration, but what form arbitration shall take. The organized labor movement will have to learn to look upon itself as an integral part of the social structure of the nation rather than as a state within a state. Only by abandoning its traditional states' rights policy will it then be able to resolve the predicament in which it finds itself placed by the Adamson law.

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1916, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER.

EDITORS
HERBERT CROLY WALTER LIPPMANN
PHILIP LITTELL FRANCIS HACKETT
ALVIN S. JOHNSON

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FOUR DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Colonial Hyphen

Immigration in the Light of History: I

A FEW years ago—in 1909 to be specific—the late Joaquim Nabuco, Ambassador from Brazil, and one of the most brilliant men the diplomatic service in this country has known, accepted an invitation to deliver the baccalaureate address at the University of Wisconsin. He was unfortunately prevented by illness from being present on that occasion, but the address was prepared and has since been made generally accessible through publication in the *American Historical Review*.

Doctor Nabuco chose for his subject: "The Share of America in Civilization," and he first of all took into consideration the five great American contributions to civilization that had been proclaimed by President Eliot. One or two of these he disposed of absolutely, saying: "I would not, for instance, count manhood suffrage as an American contribution to civilization. . . . Nor would I count arbitration." For the others he was inclined to grant partial credit, and then he went on to declare in words which deserve the attention of every thoughtful American:

> I would classify immigration as the greatest of all contributions of America to civilization. . . . You are a nation in some respects of a unique type. . . . Every other nation is, or was, composed of a race or of separate races, speaking each its own language; you are a nation formed by the fusion of races of different languages, brought, by superior inducements, to speak only the hereditary language of the country. In other words, you are a nation formed of nations by their own will. Here lies all the difference: you are formed by free immigration, not by conquest. . . .
>
> This is the first and greatest influence I would point out of the discovery of America on civilization: the appearance on earth of an immense continent destined to be the new home of the old European races, where they would meet and mix and speak the same language, while in the native soil their old stocks would continue separated and up till now belligerent. In other words, a fact never seen or imagined before, of a mankind, a new mankind, formed by self-selection.

There were many who were unwilling at the time to accept this enthusiastic declaration of Nabuco, and many more who have had their faith in our immigration policy shaken during the last two years by the revelations of discord in our national life. Immigration, however, is not a subject that can be considered in the light of one or two years' happenings, or in that of a decade. Sufficient time must elapse to allow the larger forces that are working in and through a nation's growth to produce their results. This may be a question of generations, or even centuries.

It is a subject of never-ending discussion and it is to many also a source of great anxiety. But one great trouble with every discussion of and with all our immigration studies is that they seldom if ever go back of 1850, for the very good reason that the census report of that year gives us our first satisfactory statistics regarding the newcomers. We may be able to see the problem in better perspective, however, if we realize that the eighteenth century saw an influx of immigration into what is now the United States greater in proportion than that of recent times and presenting even more serious aspects. Time and circumstance solved the problem in the one case, and it may be that a similar solution is offering itself now.

Objection may at once be made that no just comparison can be instituted between immigration into a complex and highly organized state, and immigration into a colony or series of colonies still in process of formation. In the latter case, all settlers are immigrants, and one may take very much such figures as are pleasing and establish percentages and proportions at will. But in the present instance it is proposed to consider a later period, when most of the colonies had passed through the formative stage and had reached the status of established communities, with a sufficient similarity of development and conditions to permit speaking of the "British North American colonies" collectively. The time that has been chosen covers the fifty years preceding the declaration of independence from Great Britain, and the reasons for that choice will be immediately apparent.

From the very earliest times mingling with the English settlers who were coming to the North American colonies there had been French, Germans, Swedes, Welsh, Scotch, Irish, and others. But in general they were in such small numbers as to be scarcely noticeable and were early and easily assimilated. There had been small Swedish settlements made in an attempt to establish a separate Swedish colony, but these had also been quickly absorbed. The most significant alien element was that of the Dutch. 1689 is the date that is frequently chosen as marking the time when there was a fairly well recognized colonial establishment in North America. But the colony of New Amsterdam had only been acquired in 1664 and the Dutch settlers of that and neighboring regions had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hardly been assimilated by 1689. Still a generation can accomplish a great deal, and by the time the second generation had passed, that is, by the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, it would seem that Dutch blood might be a patent of aristocracy and Dutch traits might adhere in some cases, but that British institutions and the English language were everywhere dominant, and for all practical purposes, that the colonies, collectively and individually, were essentially English.

This condition achieved, indeed before it had been accomplished, the new immigration had already begun, differing in character from, and later exceeding in volume, anything that had preceded it. The first organized settlement that would come under this head was that which resulted in the establishment of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683. So much has been written upon the subject that it is unnecessary to retell the story in detail. Suffices it to say that internal conditions in Germany—economic, religious, and political—were such as to make almost any other place an attractive refuge, and when the reports from America were favorable, the numbers of German immigrants increased rapidly. With the opening of the new century, they came by tens, by hundreds, and even by thousands. Shipowners, like our modern steamship companies, found it worth while to send their agents, "Newlanders," among the discontented people and thousands were over-persuaded to try their fortune in this country who would have been better off at home.

So great and so important was this immigration that later German writers have likened it to the pouring of the Teutonic hosts into the Roman Empire in the early centuries of our era, and they have called this new invasion "die moderne Völkerwanderung." Although they scattered through the other colonies, Pennsylvania proved to be the strongest lodestone, and more Germans entered Pennsylvania than any of the other colonies, and perhaps more entered there than into all of the other colonies together. Their numbers were so large that in 1727 the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania ordered masters of vessels to furnish lists of Germans and other foreigners whom they might bring in, and they required these foreigners on arrival to take an oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain. About this time also there was levied temporarily, as a restraint upon importing foreigners and servants, a head-tax variously stated as being in amount from five to forty shillings. 1727 is the date which has accordingly been chosen for the beginning of our study, partly because it seems to mark an epoch, and partly because we are able in consequence of this order to obtain something like definite figures.

Upon the basis of these ship-masters' lists it is possible to estimate that the German immigration into Pennsylvania from 1727 to 1775 must have amounted to approximately 70,000. Accustomed as we are to dealing in millions, these figures at first seem contemptibly small, but it must be remembered that in 1720 the population of Pennsylvania numbered only a little over 40,000 and was doubling about every twenty years. In such a small population it will be appreciated that it was a serious matter when the immigrants of one nationality amounted to 1,400 a year. A still clearer idea of proportions is obtained if the years of war are left out of account, when the immigration amounted to little or nothing, for then the annual average would be raised to 1,600 and in some years the numbers ran up to 6,000 and 7,000. With these figures in mind we are able to accept and to see the significance of contemporary statements that out of the total population of Pennsylvania of about 300,000 at the time of the Revolution one-third was German. Even in the total population of the colonies, estimated in 1720 at 470,000 and in 1775 at 2,250,000, the German element was of great importance.

At the same time that this large German immigration was taking place, there was an equally large and probably greater immigration of the so-called Scotch-Irish. Again we are dealing with a story that is too well known, or the facts of which are too easily obtainable to require repetition here. The Scotch plantations in Ulster made by King James in the early part of the seventeenth century had flourished greatly, but even before the century was over the Scotch-Irish were coming to the American colonies, and in the eighteenth century they were emigrating by hundreds and by thousands. The reasons for their coming, though immediately different, were in general similar to those of the Germans, namely, economic, religious, and political oppression.

An exception might well be taken regarding the Scotch-Irish as *foreign* immigrants. British they may have been, and as such exempt from registration and the taking of an oath of allegiance; but English they were not. Anti-British sentiments had inspired most of them in coming to America, and for the present purpose they are therefore to be classed with the Germans as an alien or foreign element in the colonial population.

Unfortunately we are unable to obtain as accurate figures in the case of the Scotch-Irish as in that of the Germans. Authentic records are meagre and too frequently what has been written of recent years has been largely in the nature of eulogy or panegyric, which tends to the exaggera-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of numbers as well as of influence. The best that can be done is to make estimates upon the basis of a few definite figures, which we have for specific years, and of some general statements. For example, there seems to be no reason for questioning the oft-quoted assertion in Burke's "Account of the European Settlements in America" that in 1729 the immigrants to Pennsylvania numbered 6208 of whom 5605 were Scotch-Irish. It was in that same year that James Logan, agent and defender of the Penn family in the colony, himself a Scotch-Irishman, wrote in one of his letters: "It looks as if Ireland is to send all its inhabitants hither." Although the account was nearly contemporary, one is inclined to regard as an exaggeration the statement in Proud's "History of Pennsylvania" that in 1749 there were about 12,000 immigrants arriving from Germany, and that in some years there were nearly as many annually from Ireland. Other scattered items, however, seem to confirm Proud's estimate that by about 1760 one-quarter of the population of Pennsylvania was Irish, as well as Franklin's calculation that by the time of the Revolution this proportion had increased to one-third.

From the contemporary accounts cited, and others, it is evident that Pennsylvania felt no little apprehension as to the number of immigrants pouring into the colony. But population is the first requirement of a new country and Pennsylvania's rapid growth and prosperity were the wonder and envy of all the other colonies. These less favored colonies accordingly welcomed and even offered inducements to immigrants to settle within their borders. We have noticed that the Germans were to be found in considerable numbers outside of Pennsylvania and in the same way the Scotch-Irish were scattered through all of British North America. The latter were even more widely distributed than the Germans and if anything in larger proportions. The most careful estimate that has been made places the Germans, at the outbreak of the Revolution, at about one-tenth of the total population; Scotch-Irish claims would bring their own numbers to one-sixth.

MAX FARRAND.

The Future of the Socialist Party

IN 1908 the Socialist party doubled its vote notwithstanding the beginnings of the new Progressive movement. And four years ago, with Roosevelt in the field, the Socialist high-water mark was reached—901,000 votes. This year, confronted with two conservative parties neither of whom aroused any popular enthusiasm and in spite of the 2,000,000 new women's votes to draw from, the Socialist party has lost nearly one-half its previous vote. It is now likely that it will not exceed 600,000.

One reason for this decline is suggested by the fact that three days after election the Socialist press and the national headquarters were still claiming 1,200,000 votes. Everyone who had access to the news reports knew before the decision had been made between Wilson and Hughes that the Socialist vote had dropped. There was a time when the Socialist party tried to educate its followers rather than to "fake" election returns. There was a time when the party was not so eager to sell its soul for votes.

For nearly twenty years I have been a close observer and participant in Socialist campaigns. During the last four years I have heard many discussions on campaign tactics. Not once have I heard the old familiar questions: "Is this right? Is this in accord with the principles of Socialism?" But over and over I have heard: "Will this catch the Poles? Will that land the Germans? Will the other scare the little taxpayers?" Once upon a time almost every Socialist speech ended with, "Don't vote for our candidates unless you agree with Socialism." Then our vote grew. Now we practise expediency and our vote declines. With the sorrow that comes with the destruction of one's dearest ideal, I say that in many a city the Socialist organization is to-day little more than an organized appetite for office—a Socialist Tammany, exploiting the devotion of its members instead of the funds of corporations, for the benefit of a little circle of perfectly honest, but perfectly incompetent and selfish politicians, who still persist in thinking themselves idealists. In only this, the weakest and worst phase of our movement, are we really in touch with American life.

The second principal reason for our decline in votes lies in the simple fact that our party has ceased to be American. During the last three years I have watched the falling off of one after another of the Americans who came into the party full of enthusiasm during the late 'nineties and the first years of this century. No party in America can live except through these recruits, least of all the Socialists. But it is not only that Americans are not coming into the party to-day. I have collected the names of nearly fifty people who have filled the highest unpaid positions in our party,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who have been candidates for office when election was hopeless—writers, speakers, organizers—the type of men and women who gave up what the world called careers to devote their lives to what they believed to be the one fight worth fighting—and all these are to-day leaving the movement in the principles of which they still believe. Others are refusing to work within the organization. Moreover, I have asked several members of the party to name one single American of prominence who was working in this campaign without being a candidate for some office. They cannot name one. Intellectually and politically the mind of the party is in Europe.

The war has emphasized this. A careful scheme was set in motion to capture the machinery of the party by those in sympathy with the ruling class of Germany. We sent out a caucus ticket for every national office, backed by a campaign of circularization such as had never been dreamed of in our organization. The effort was largely successful, for the candidates were Socialists whom the members trusted because of their past services. But they were hopelessly out of touch with all things American. Their first thought about every issue was its effect upon the fortunes of the warring nations. On every question they worked in complete accord with the German-American Alliance. Most of our press did the same. Yet it is only just to add that this was partly through the fact that the pacifist movement had been also manipulated in the pro-German direction, and most Socialists followed the pacifists.

To illustrate: The Socialist party and press had no criticism of the invasion of Belgium, the sinking of the Lusitania, the Zeppelin outrages, the slave drives in Belgium or the hideous Armenian massacres. But that press and party screamed hysterically over the brutal suppression of the Irish rebellion. This they should have done, and I gladly lent my voice to that protest. I wrote letters to friends in the English Parliament expressing my indignation, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that the letters arrived and may have had some effect. That we as a party left unmentioned other outrages, infinitely more deserving of our condemnation, argues cowardice and a betrayal of our principles.

The most bold-faced appeals were made to race prejudice. Our politicians, utterly ignorant of the American mind, boasted that between Hughes and Wilson, both openly or secretly kicking the hyphen, the Socialists would sneak in and grab the German vote. As the writer of the first leaflet issued by the Socialist party having as its slogan, "Starve the war and feed the people," I certainly did not object to its use. But all emphasis was laid on the embargo, and nothing was said of the Socialist phase which called for national control of distribution. Yet it was just this socialistic action in Australia which reduced prices, and it was the only thing in which we had any right to be interested. But the Kaiser would not benefit by feeding America, and for fear some of the Germans might not see even this crude bait it was labeled with the published explanation that an embargo "would help Germany."

Except in a few localities it was not this bias toward Junker autocracy that was most to blame for damning the Socialist party. It was rather the pitiful lack of knowledge of American conditions that gave us a platform and propaganda utterly unrelated to the most vital problems of American labor. It could not be otherwise when the party was directed by men who write books to show that American Socialism sprang out of utopian colonies or who, a few weeks before election, wrote of the "Continental Congress" enacting "the first tariff bill," or, in a carefully prepared campaign document, announced that "only one man can prevent war," and then explain that the President has power to levy an embargo. It is not that mistakes were made. Anyone might make mistakes in history, but no one to whom American history and tradition are not a closed book makes these particular mistakes.

These same officials show a complete lack of comprehension of American democracy. They are suspicious of it either in the party or in the government. They would sincerely deny this, just as they have a sincere belief in their infallible knowledge of America. But the facts tell the story. Every effort to secure a national convention was thwarted. The attempt to maintain an open forum for discussion of party affairs was choked off by relegating such discussion to an unread supplement of the party organ. Not a single Socialist paper of influence permits that freedom of discussion which was once our greatest pride. There is also that contempt for the membership which always accompanies distrust of democracy. There are frequent excuses for the "discipline" of the German party. It is not even considered good form to denounce autocracy, and "Prussian militarism" has not lacked its defenders within the Socialist party as an essential preparation for Socialism. Yet those who do this are not seeking personal advantage. They believe themselves the true custodians of the Ark of the Socialist Covenant, and would protect it from unhallowed hands.

This bland aloofness from things American was seen in the complete indifference to the stupendous profits of monopoly, the wide-spread class struggles of the campaign, the relation of the financial trans-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

actions of the war to American industry, and a dozen other things that at one time would have held the attention of the Socialist movement. It is illustrated again in the profound indifference of our officials to the great pedagogical revolution that is largely led by John Dewey. Here is a working-class upheaval in a sphere which Socialists once considered their special care. It is a direct outgrowth of Socialist philosophy. But our Socialist writers of program and directors of campaigns and even our elected school officials are ignorant of all this. They are still too provincial to see the significance of any intellectual movement "made in America."

At a time when the American people, and indeed the whole world, is turning against the liquor traffic, the Socialist party allows itself to be dragged at the heels of the brewery and saloon forces. I do not ask the party to declare for prohibition. But in more than one city where Socialist principles are surrendered without a protest by the party liquor is staunchly defended. Socialists in legislative halls have joined hands with the worst enemies of labor in order to protect the liquor interests, and to retain their endorsement of the foreign secret societies.

There is a blatant antagonism to religion that is also un-American. Again I am not a believer in any form of religion. But I hope I am a tolerant enough "free-thinker" not to insist upon victimizing those who believe the supposedly Socialist motto, "Religion is a private matter."

These are some, but by no means all, of the reasons why there were so few of the American founders of the Socialist party upon its campaign platforms this year. They offer a part of the explanation why the United States is the only nation in which there has been a falling off in the Socialist vote since the beginning of the great war.

There was another reason. Our pro-German politicians were very poor politicians. They tried to "get smart with big things," a procedure which Lassalle could have told them is bad politics. They could not outbid the Republican and Democratic candidates. Some Germans voted for local Socialist candidates and cut the head of the ticket to help the Kaiser. Many former Socialist voters, I will not say Socialists, voted for Wilson, not because he was pro-Allies—no person of American mentality and able to lisp the first syllable of American history ever doubted that Hughes and those behind him were more virulently pro-Allies than Wilson—but because Wilson, with his reform legislation and reformer appointments, seemed to offer more of real Socialism than a Socialist party which had lost itself in the wilds of European diplomacy. I think they were wrong. But I know from many sources that these were their motives.

I do not believe the Socialist party will die. Perhaps this is because for me to believe this would be to believe that twenty years of my life have been thrown away. And it is just because it does mean so much to me and to thousands of others who have never sought to use it for personal advantage —and only those who have stood at the cradle of a movement and then worked and lived for it for almost a generation can understand how much it may mean—that I will not knowingly lie to myself about it. I believe that the principles of Socialism were never so verified as experience is verifying them to-day. I am sure that if the Socialists of this country come to know that truth they will push the well meaning politicians to one side and work out a movement which will be the political expression of American labor.

I should be unfair, and this I have tried most carefully not to be, if I failed to mention some notable exceptions to the un-American character of the Socialist press. I do this the more gladly because the most striking of these exceptions are printed in the German language. The New York *Volkszeitung,* the St. Louis *Labor* and the St. Louis *Arbeiter Zeitung* have stood fair and square against the storms of nationalism which more than once have threatened their existence, and have maintained the principles of Socialism as applied to American and international problems with a courage and fidelity that is worthy of the best traditions of Socialism. I hope it is needless to add that this appreciation by me does not imply that they endorse what I have written or that I agree with them in all their positions. But they are a promise of a better future for the Socialist party in the United States.

A. M. Simons.

O. Henry and His Critics

THESE, by the freak of circumstance that wills it so, are O. Henry days. With so much else that should absorb us—with Emperors dying almost unnoticed, with twenty million men struggling on a dozen "fronts," with the cost of living gripping at our vitals, and with the mad diversion of the New Luxury to hold us back from thinking of anything at all—by some odd chance we are all thinking and talking of the man who called himself O. Henry. Our neglected author is dead in his grave, with scarcely a publisher to walk behind his hearse, and lo! six years after his death he is bursting upon us afresh, as it were, with all the splendor of a rising genius. A "definitive edition" of his works is out, published—American slang and all—in war-stricken England.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is selling, so they tell us, by the hundred thousand. A professor of English is to the front with an "authoritative biography." Editors are calling eagerly for O. Henry articles, and the ponderous pundits of official criticism, with a full sense of their responsibility, are weighing the man in their scales as carefully as poor O. Henry himself might have measured out grains of morphine in the night silence of his prison dispensary.

Meantime the voice of the carping critic is lifted up, half doubtful even of O. Henry's best, and positively contemptuous of his worst. Most notable of all, the college professoriate has stepped in—that august fraternity who can only truly recognize literature a thousand years after the "plain people" have found it out, and who reserve their smiles for the so-called jokes of Aristophanes, and look to the writings of Plato for their horoscope of the Democratic party.

At the hands of these and their like, O. Henry is being tried and found wanting. We have it from one professor—a feminine one—that O. Henry could not write *stories* at all. Worse than that, he not only could not write the thing called the short story, but he actually degraded it. That petted offspring of our hopes, the American Short Story, which is expected some day to bloom with such effulgence as to prove that we are after all a literary people—our peculiar product which is viewed even in the colleges with an indulgent eye—that, O. Henry would have strangled in its poor cradle. He would, they tell us, have choked it with his rough handling, poisoned its pure blood with the bacillus of his western slang, and marred its usefulness for the college textbook by his crude solecisms and his ignorance.

O. Henry's stories, we are informed by the adverse critics, are not stories at all, but for the most part mere "anecdotes" (such is the fatal word that has been found) dependent on some purely literary trick of surprise or enigma—some meretricious art of ending a story with a juggler's *coup de main*—the simplest thing in the world to do, for those who care to stoop to it. Alas! that the generation in which we live should need to be told again the story of Abraham Lincoln and General Grant's whiskey. Repeat it, at this late hour, one dare not. But if the tales of O. Henry are indeed "anecdotes," then, in the name of commonsense, let us have another barrelful.

The truth is that in matters of literature, indeed of all the arts, we must judge a man by his best, and never by his worst. When Homer nods we must turn our heads the other way, reading his Iliad aloud that we may not hear the raucous snoring of the bard that wrote it. It is by the highest reach of a man that we measure his stature. So it should be in art. So it always is, in fact, when with the lapse of years the grain is winnowed into the basket and the chaff has flown upon the wind. We think of Francis Bacon as the author of his immortal "Essays," not as the sneaking parasite that driveled of divine monarchy for the ear of his slobbering king. We think of Gray as the man who wrote the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." In the twilight shadow of his ancient elms, we may forget the rest. When we talk of Washington Irving, let it be in the midsummer drowsiness of his Sleepy Hollow. Let us not hold it against Tennyson that he allowed himself to be washed from his anchorage by the flood tide of Victorian sentimentality; that he lived in a perpetual pose, a cloak draped about him, and a prepared look "registered"—as they call it in the moving pictures—upon his face. Let us forget that Carlyle had stomach-ache, and often put it down on paper; that Browning was as jealous as a débutante; that Dickens broke at times into sobs of literary hysteria; and that our good old Mark Twain himself—amid the financial ruin that he faced so bravely—inflicted upon an indulgent public such unspeakable trash as his "Double Barreled Detective Story" and his "Tom Sawyer Abroad." It is kinder to forget. And, in any case, such things go easily to their inevitable doom.

So it should be with O. Henry. There is no need to measure the master genius that penned "The Furnished Room" and "The Municipal Report" by the smaller standard of his lesser things. They need not count. They are but the careless product of genius fertile beyond our common ken, and great enough to be indifferent to fame itself.

More than all should such indulgence be exercised in these days when commerce and the money motive intrude their eager, selfish hands into the framework of literature and twist and mar it from the shape in which Heaven has tried to fashion it. For in these days of the Universal Press and the Syndicate and the Cable Service, it is not so much merit that counts as that last little increment of conspicuousness that lifts a man, let it be by ever so little, above the crowd—just for once—let it be but for five minutes—and thus certifies and hallmarks his every product with the sterling stamp of notoriety. The one thing needed above all others is an initial success. Grant this and the mechanism of modern commerce—the syndicate man and the moving-picture manager and the vociferous lecture bureau can multiply it by a thousand. With initial success to back him, a literary man, perhaps after years of unappreciated struggle and effort, finds the world about him changed. The Editor, who had seemed little better than a bandit, is wreathed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in smiles—a jolly pleasant fellow he now appears—grossly misjudged in the days of adversity—who buys lunches and plans new tasks and clamors ever for more copy with a check-book ready under his obliging thumb. The Publisher—how could one ever have thought him rough?—is turned forthwith into a merry dog, hospitable, and appreciative even of stories that he never reads. For one soon learns that he reads nothing, but sits merely in his den waiting with a little golden crown to fit upon the brows of initial success. No worse is he, good soul, than other men. He knows his public, and what they want, they get. In the place of a real book he gives a name, instead of a drama a notoriety, and in place of art a public scandal, a divorce or suicide or whatever other thing can set the people talking of the author of the hour. Small wonder that as like as not, he often gives—in the real measure of things—for bread, a stone.

Smaller wonder still that in this forced draught of commercial successfulness masquerading as literary success, true art can scarcely live at all. Author after author flies like a moth into the money flame, and is there consumed, turning out mere jaded hackwork in place of literature, and yet in his very extinction kindling such a flashlight of advertised notoriety that all about him mistake it for the undying light of fame: till he snuffs out, and passes.

Yet of all those that live and have recently lived on the pinnacle of literary success, O. Henry better than any other resisted the temptation to multiply himself for money's sake. He lived for the most part a penurious life, with a sudden and transitory affluence at the close of it. It is not conceivable that he could altogether escape. He wrote, under a contract, so his biographer tells us, a story each week for over a year, to be fed into the greedy maw of the weekly press. Some sixty or seventy of his stories were poured forth in this fashion—with the prodigality of genius, unrevised and scantily considered and spun as it seems from the merest cobwebs. Is it strange, then, that sometimes his craft failed him, and that, great as his genius was, from time to time he handed to his employers a mere piece of task work—done with repugnance and forgotten?

For O. Henry in his real work could write only by the light within. There was no elaborate scheme of preparation to take the place of the inspired word. He read nothing, or next to it. He investigated nothing. He saw nobody. He had no propaganda, no views to expound, no lesson, in the meaner sense, to teach. His was not the dull industry that investigates, notebook in hand, the slum, the factory and the market place, and turns the mass of acccumulated fact into the vast Contemporary Novel that pours its slow current of alluvial mud through the channel of a thousand pages.

Ignorant—undoubtedly, except of life itself—gloriously ignorant he was. No college, not even a theological school, could have matriculated him. Even of New York, so they now tell us, he knew practically nothing. But of little threads and patches, a vision of a haggard face seen for a moment in a crowd, a fallen word, the chance glance of an eye—of such as this interwoven with the cross thread of his marvelous imagination, he did his matchless work.

Let it so rest as his best monument. The little peckings of the critics about the base will but serve to keep clean the stone.

STEPHEN LEACOCK.

The Need for Conservatives

OPTIMISTS have been telling us for a long time that the discomfort of living in a world cluttered with people who won't move until they are shoved is after all a good thing. Some say the conservatives are necessary to keep the world from going too fast; others that they are necessary to make the rest of us angry and so keep it from going too slowly. Yet there is something suspiciously automatic about both these assumptions, even if they could both be true at the same time. They sound too much like the old lazy commonplaces about the blessings of poverty and the eternal laws of nature. Generalities by optimists usually need to be disproved. It is about time we gave up the habit of attacking conservatives in detail and justifying them in the mass long enough to examine the problem of their existence. Perhaps what we really ought to do is to abolish conservatism.

The automatic habit of mind which whenever it thinks about the universe conceives it as a clicking machine made of all-things-working-together-for-good has laid out a neat little blue-print showing what conservatism does. Somebody, moved by the pressure of circumstances or the spirit within him, agitates for a change. The conservatives don't stir. Then the agitator begins to reconsider. How can he put his case more strongly? How can he alter his scheme so that it may fit the needs of humanity more palpably? So the new plan grows, is improved little by little in the process of argument, and finally wins the right to be tried by experience at the precise moment when it has attained intellectual perfection. If it is the sort of plan that should not be tried, then the power to move the conservatives can never be gained.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The conservatives are supposed to constitute a sort of impeccable supreme court of progress, who sit in superb isolation waiting for cases initiated by others to work up to them. Their decision is final. They eventually, it is said, come round to every good proposal made, the only difference between them and more alert people being that they come round later. There is supposed to be an intrinsic advantage in this delay.

The astounding simplicity of any such operation is obviously unlike ordinary dealings between man and man as we know them in daily life. My barber, who has learned his trade by rote and is set in his ways, insists on daubing my face with a strong-smelling cologne on the rare occasions when I allow him to shave me. I disbelieve in the use of cologne for such a purpose; pungent perfumes lost most of their reason for being with the invention of the bath-tub. I have tried many times to convince my barber of this; the ingenuity of my propaganda on the subject of cologne would almost exhaust the resources of a presidential campaign manager. Yet he is a conservative, and however deferentially he may agree with me for the moment, he always remains unmoved the next time. Now I know I am right, and I grant to my barber no divine prerogative of deciding by his obstinacy that I am wrong. Nevertheless I am sure he will keep on daubing me with cologne every time he gets a chance. Even if he should give in, the fact that he does so next March rather than last June will hold no charm. The fact is not that my proposal becomes valid when he assents to it, but that he first becomes useful in this matter when he agrees with me.

Why should the advantages of a suggested innovation be measured by the stupidity of the people who oppose it? Not all innovations are praiseworthy, to be sure, but the last person to judge their worth is the person who is temperamentally against any innovation. If I wish to get advice on the merit of a new automobile engine, I do not go to a man who has never ridden behind anything but a horse. I go to a man who has tried as many automobile engines as possible. Such a man has a right to be sceptical and to insist on being shown. But I don't really trust his judgment unless I know that underneath his doubtful exterior there is an eager hope that I may have hit on something better than anything he has tried. New inventions are timid and delicate, like babies. They need to be nursed and fed and bolstered up with infinite care. Perhaps they won't amount to anything, but you never can tell until you give them a chance. Suppose you were a mother showing a new-born infant to his father, and that individual remarked: "He is very red and has a retreating forehead and almost no nose. He makes horrible inarticulate noises. I doubt his authenticity as a contribution to the human race. Bring him back to me when he is forty and has a beard, and I will look at him again. Until then I withhold my support." Would you not suspect the reluctant parent of having an abnormal bias in favor of birth control? Would not that suspicion debar him from the right to decide whether this infant should live?

Yet when we come to the almost uncleared wilderness of political and social relations we assume that the people who don't want to do anything about it, who believe that the forest primeval must in the nature of things be eternal, are in some mystic way fitted to sit on the scatter-brained proposals of the people who want to cultivate the land. There is really no need for this balance between inertia and uncontrolled energy among people. Reality itself will furnish a sufficient test for any plan. What we need in order to have the right kind of progress at the right speed is a sufficiently large number of trained observers who are willing to make intelligent experiments, and keep on making them in spite of failures.

How are we to construct peace among nations? Surely the people who keep crying that because there has been war there always will be war are not going to help us even by their opposition. If they are right, nobody needs to say so. We should find out whether they are right ever so much quicker if everybody would admit that some plan might be good enough to try, and the sooner we pick out a likely-looking plan and try it the better. It is just conceivable that if the inventors of a good plan spend too much time changing it to meet the objections of those who don't want anything tried, the plan will deteriorate instead of improving.

But are conservatives necessary to whet the edge of the radical's purpose? Many of my friends have told me that they were first converted to woman suffrage by the anti-suffrage editorials of the New York *Times*. In fact, the whole anti-suffrage agitation seems to be one of the most fruitful sources of suffrage energy. It keeps the matter alive, say the suffrage leaders, and gives them all sorts of chances for publicity. Yet I am sure this is not a typical case, and that such artificial stimulation as a whole does no good to the social organism. Often I have sat down to my breakfast a reasonable being, no more impatient or uncivilized than such a careful thinker as Graham Wallas; but by the time I have finished reading Mr. Shonts and Mr. Hedley on unionism, Mr. Maxim on pacifists, the Presbyterian General Assembly on heresy, and Mr. Lodge on Germany, I have become a rioting I. W. W. Tolstoyan non-resistant atheist pro-German. This sort of stimu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lation does not help anything but indigestion. There is a whole caste of quick-soil radicals in America who came into being in anger and feed on resentment. They make a religion of wrath. They conceive anything like critical examination or calm thinking to be treachery. As a consequence they never take root in fundamental soil, they never bear any fruit except small, bitter, misshapen berries. We might by this time have had a Socialist party with a real influence on legislation if we had had more men and women with generous tendencies who believed in thinking. And what works of art might not have come out of Greenwich Village if its inhabitants were not under so constant a necessity of rebelling against puritan morality!

Of course almost nobody believes that every change is for the better, and that progress automatically takes place in a straight line toward a Utopia. Such an attitude is as mechanically specious as its opposite. There will always be more worlds for the race to conquer, and it is quite possible that the race will destroy itself or be destroyed in the process. Nevertheless the race must march somewhere, and any man who checks up his opinions and finds himself an emotional anti on upward of say eighty-five per cent of the proposals seriously made, can count himself more a dead weight than an Alexander. The dead weights, the radical replies, we have always with us; why not go on treating them as usual? That is what we used to say about the poor. Now we have almost ceased to blame the poor for their poverty; we have begun to study how the creation of such unfortunate people can be avoided. Can we not, by some judicious process of feeding, exercise, breeding and readjustment of wealth and ideas, gradually rid ourselves of the temperamental conservative? It is a question worth the attention of social scientists.

GEORGE SOULE.

The Middleman in Divorce

ANTON was a writer of songs. His talent was far removed from genius, but nevertheless it brought him a modest income from the publishers for whom he did hack work. For several years all went well with him and his little family, which consisted of a wife and two little girls. But discord came and his wife sought the advice of a lawyer who, hungry for business, recommended a suit for divorce. A petition was prepared which itemized all the failings and mistakes of the husband. The depth of a sensitive soul was stirred. Another lawyer secured a job, and, anxious to outdo his opponent, searched the debit page of the wedded life with infinite pains. The result was a counter petition filled with accusations, among which appeared the veiled assertion of the infidelity of the wife. An outburst of hatred and indignation followed which lasted until the case came to court.

Fortunately, the judge who presided saw the psychological process which had brought about the ruptured relationship. He knew the type of lawyer before him, the efforts which had been expended to make the petitions effective, the lack of real effort to bring about an understanding. After a day of useless complaint and endless fault-finding he called the couple to his private office. From this conference both of the lawyers were excluded. The judge made a supreme effort to bring about a reconciliation, carefully revealing to them the credit page of their married life. There they saw items in great abundance—a long sickness through which she had nursed him, his unfailing kindness to the children, his sober and upright life.

When a trial balance was taken it was not so evident as the lawyers had sought to prove that a home need be sacrificed. The judge suspended his decision, and several weeks passed, marked by constant demands from the lawyers that the decree be granted. But the brief informal session had been the death blow to the disagreement. The couple are now living together, the children have a home, and the home rests upon a better understanding.

Cases like this represent great social waste. One hundred and fifty dollars was the cost to this couple of their experience with the law. And this is only one case in many. During the past three years 6870 divorce cases were disposed of in the county in which Cleveland is located. Thirty per cent of these, numbering 2106, were dismissed, usually by the voluntary act of the parties. Counting court costs and roughly estimating the time lost by the parties to the suits and the fees of the attorneys, the cost of the cases dismissed during the three years amounted to $280,000. This does not include the time of the judge and the other court attachés. The fees of the lawyers in these cases aggregated $210,000. The resultant bitterness, unhappiness, and shame of these causeless proceedings cannot of course be reduced to exactness. Undoubtedly from the social stand-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

point the latter constitute the greatest waste of all.

These cases were based upon reconcilable differences. Thus in spite of petitions and cross-petitions, with all the attendant efforts of lawyers to "get" a divorce, these hundreds of cases were apparently so petty that without the court's intervention the parties themselves came to agreement. Of the cases in which divorces were granted there was unquestionably a large number in which reconciliation might have been affected had it not been for the lawyer who was "hired to get a divorce."

Here is a serious problem in social efficiency. It shows the need of a conciliatory agency to deal with divorce cases before they are brought into court. This agency must not be in the nature of a censorship or a rigid regulatory process. When such a delicate task is to be attempted, a branch of social service connected with the courts should be provided. It is the experience of every judge that the simple method of calling the parties into private consultation has ended many a divorce suit and reëstablished many a home.

Another typical case is in point. A husband and wife well past middle life had not spoken to each other in many months. All communication had been carried on through the mediation of lawyers. The parties directly concerned were called into the office of the judge who left them there for a while with the door locked. Stormy wrangling followed. But the voices gradually descended to lower tones, and two hours later when the judge reëntered the office the parties were willing to go home together.

If differences can be settled after legal strife has begun, it is reasonable to demand that efforts looking to a settlement be made in the first instance. It is the part of advanced thought to eliminate community waste by preventing the growth of the anti-social. We save most of the cost of combating disease by seeking to prevent its cause. In like manner we can eliminate the infection of modern divorce proceedings.

The wise, worthy lawyer is constantly performing social service by bringing about readjustments before filing suit. The element of the profession, however, which handles most of the divorce cases in America owes its very existence to such discord. We can expect little effort toward peace from that source. The more bitter the strife the more ample the profit. The wife consults one lawyer, the husband another. Petitions, pregnant with charges and counter-charges, are prepared. Trifles light as air are magnified to give the case added seriousness. Society and the law have decreed that divorce must not be granted except for serious cause. Hence, to secure the divorce and to earn the fee, the lawyer compiles a debit account which often works serious and irreparable destruction. Even in those cases where efforts for peace are successful the seeds of future disagreements have frequently been left.

The lawyer is a middleman. He exists because a mass of technicalities separates the citizen and his courts. Blindly must the average man trust his lawyer to go into the maze and bring him back satisfaction of some desire. Whether he gets it depends less upon the object sought than upon the skill of the expert employed.

Such problems as are involved in the ordinary divorce proceedings require for their solution a branch of the public service which is equipped to investigate and advise. The court as now constituted cannot do this. It is equipped merely to decide which of two conflicting expositions of law should be given precedence. Too often the judge is merely a highly dignified referee in a technical game. The court must be equipped to meet the concrete demands of human life. Decisions must cease to partake of the mystic art of an ancient ceremony. It must become a place for the taking of a trial balance in the immediate problem at hand. Justice to be worthy of the name should be the determination of the balance in human relationships.

This idea has in Cleveland been applied to small civil suits. The conciliation court here has been dealing in an informal way with thousands of small suits during the past three years. Its method eliminates lawyers, bondsmen, and all other middlemen of the law, and makes of the judge an investigator and a peacemaker. Its success has been unquestioned and it has been copied in many other American cities. This process which works for peace in adjusting differences between strangers could, at least, be equally helpful in dealing with the affairs of estranged partners in the business of matrimony.

Compulsory conciliation, in addition to being purely a misnomer, is unsatisfactory and inadvisable. An effort toward conciliation nevertheless should be compelled by making it a rule of every court that before persons residing in the same jurisdiction are permitted to engage in a suit for divorce they must first submit their grievance or complaint to a judge whose duty it should be to bring the parties into a conference and to attempt an adjustment of their differences. No lawyers should be allowed to take part in these preliminary steps. At such a conference a trial balance of the marital relations of the parties should be taken and presented with great emphasis. The parties should be urged not to act hastily and the consequences of such hasty action should be pointed out.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can it be doubted that such a system would be conducive to the ends of justice?

One day after court hours a teamster entered a Cleveland court room and asked for a word with the judge. He was ill at ease and rather awe-stricken amid the impressive surroundings of the august temple of justice. The kindly interest of the judge brought him more assurance and he came directly to the point.

"I want a divorce in a hurry," he said.

When asked for his reason he answered:

"My wife don't love me any more. She hardly ever cooks breakfast and don't talk to me much."

The judge explained the expense and formality necessary. But the man was not to be so easily dissuaded. He said he had the money and wanted to be sent to a lawyer. A long informal talk followed. The facts of the case revealed themselves. The couple had been married less than two years. For a few months all had gone well. A child was expected before long. The case was plain. The simple-minded man could not appreciate what the young wife had to endure. Hence her fretfulness and his counter resentment.

"Go home!" said the judge. "Take her a box of candy and some flowers. Then report to me tomorrow and tell me what she does."

The next day the mood of the teamster was completely changed. His happy countenance told an eloquent story.

"Much obliged, judge," he said. "She kissed me."

What the service of the judge meant in this instance to a simple-minded man cannot be measured. An immediate need had been met by a natural expedient. Similar application of common sense if applied generally would cut in half the rich harvest of the divorce lawyer. The court through its intercession would introduce peace where dissension now prevails and build where it now destroys. Nor would the litigant be the only beneficiary. By making the courts a place for human service, unfettered by formal procedure and speaking the language of simple truth, we shall go far toward giving them their true place in the community.

MANUEL LEVINE.
RAYMOND MOLEY.

CORRESPONDENCE

Pleads for Laissez-Faire

SIR: You are doing a great work at a critical time in American history, but I believe it would be even more effective if your pages were not so hermetically sealed to the views of that large body of opinion who believe that the "laissez-faire laissez-passer" policy has never had a genuine and full trial and that it would be a calamity for this country to follow European radicals in seeking refuge in regulation and state control, until the curative power of genuine freedom has been tested.

It is not easy to put what I mean into a few words, without omitting necessary qualifying statements, but relying on your sympathetic comprehension, I will attempt it. The tendency under present conditions for wages to go down to the lowest point at which population will consent to maintain itself constitutes the fundamental justification for trade unionism with all of its results—good and bad. This tendency (of wages to fall under free competition) is explained in the orthodox political economy by the doctrine of diminishing returns. This view seemed also in accord with the view that joy was not of this world and that the division of mankind into masses and classes was a final expression of God's will. This doctrine no longer accords with our religious or social ideals and the doctrine of diminishing returns has for the time-being, at any rate, been repealed through the application of science to agriculture and industry. In the animal kingdom, more food means increased numbers; and this tendency to have large families continues even with mankind wherever the child is a source of profit, but is reversed in the families of the well-to-do. There the child is given wider education and greater opportunity for development and becomes a burden financially and personally. If culture and comfort could be the lot of all there seems reason to believe the danger of excessive population would be entirely overcome.

You will not have failed to notice that I am suggesting nothing less than the possibility that a community may exist in which competition, even among laborers, might not be inconsistent with a scale of wages—rising with every important application of science to production, and really representing the laborers' fair share of the total product. Such a scale of wages would soon make of the laborer the owner of the greater part of the capital of the country; and what more natural than that laborers would invest in the factories in which they work and thereby secure a control of their industry which would be more effective than any control which state socialism would make possible.

I realize that this seems too good to be true and that the wise men of the world have lost the hope of finding evidence of design in social structure or of the reign of law where now all seems confusion. But the kind of world I have suggested would be exactly the one the Father to whom Jesus prayed, would have made. Some of us still believe that is the sort of world we actually are living in—and that the task of man is to cease interfering with the free play of God's laws dealing with the production and distribution of wealth instead of establishing restrictions.

As Columbus went in search of a land he had never seen and finding it, solved for a time, and in an unexpected manner, many of the economic difficulties of Europe, may it not be we can find a solution of much that daunts us by a further reliance on the principles of freedom? I am not suggesting a remedy but a direction in which it may be worth while for men of good will to look for one.

BOLTON SMITH.

Memphis, Tennessee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and Things

I HAVE never been able to understand the reasoning of those kind-hearted people who from time to time recommend, seemingly in all seriousness, the subsidizing of the deserving poor among American authors. As a writer my mouth waters at the thought of it, but I cannot with a clear conscience urge it. One's humanity would be torn in two by the problem presented in its application. To clothe a naked author would be an act of personal kindness; it would also be, very likely, an act of public cruelty. If, for example, a committee of the Academy of Arts and Letters were to set out regularly to rescue all the mute, inglorious Miltons, the result while pleasing to the Miltons might be exceedingly disagreeable to everybody else owing to the committee's probable taste in Miltons. How do these wise men know that a committee for saving more authors from starvation would really be any better for the literary situation than a committee for causing more authors to starve, or that a committee for endowing authors to continue writing would work out more desirably than a committee that endowed them to stop?

I say committee, of course, because we always carry out by committee anything in which any one of us alone would be too reasonable to persist. Alone, after a few trials, one would probably come to his senses, but in a committee we come to one another's senses, which is merely a convivial manner of going out of our own. It is not that the plan looks merely to the preservation of an author as a man. It looks to his continuance as an author. Mad decisions of this sort could be taken only in committee.

It is different with other occupations. Toward bank-clerks, for instance, one could be coöperatively human without endangering to any great extent the mental lives of other people. A "nation-wide" bank-clerk life-saving service would be no more invidious or unreasonable than many other civic bodies now existing, and it might perhaps with safety go further than simply pulling bank-clerks out of water and drying them. It might even take measures to aid them to return to bank-clerking. Even a committee could probably tell not only whether a bank-clerk ought to live but whether he ought to be a bank-clerk.

But suppose seven novelists, while looking for a democratic "urge," fall into the Harlem River, and are drawn out by some committee on the conservation of deserving fiction. Beyond the work of complete resuscitation the committee obviously has no right to go. To restore those novelists warmed and comforted to their respective families, without regard to the quality of their literary work, is defensible on grounds of common humanity. It pertains to the preservation of human life. But one step beyond that point, one single measure for aiding and abetting any or all of them in the writing of novels would carry the committee into a subtle and dubious domain requiring fine, far-seeing discriminations such as no American committee on any subject has ever been known to possess. It pertains to the preservation of a literary life. The bodies of those seven novelists, whirling in the tide underneath the arches of High Bridge, would be, I admit, a pathetic sight, no matter what they had written. But only so long as they were regarded merely as men. If they were regarded exclusively as novelists and from a strictly literary point of view, the occasion might be almost joyous. So little can one say in any long view of the matter whether their survival as active novelists would do more good than harm to the human spirit. One man's life may be dearly purchased at the price of ten thousand ennuis. I do not deny that the committee might do literature a service by hitting once and again on the right novelist to conserve; but so might a lightning-stroke by killing the right one. Why add one blind chance to another in the hope of coming out straight in this rather delicate affair?

Or take a case which would seem to me wholly deserving and in which I ought certainly to sympathize with the subsidizing point of view. Having nearly finished my book on "The Religion of Inexperience," a constructive work in moral eradication, written with energy and vision, seizing posterity's thought by the forelock but transcending somewhere the mental powers of my contemporaries, I appear one morning with my six starving children at the Anne Street Headquarters of the Rockefeller Committee on Indoor Literary Relief. It turns out better than I could have hoped. Not only am I tided over my present difficulties, but three weeks later there is a meeting of two college presidents, a professor of sociology, a writer of a successful novel, an historian, and the director of a bank, and out of the confluence of these six intellects there comes, as indeed anything might come, a decision in my favor.

"The Religion of Inexperience" is achieved, published in four volumes, respectfully considered. I find people polite and not unwilling to admit that I may be passing on to posterity. As I have the reputation of writing over everybody's head, giants arise from time to time and say they understand me and from my own point of view and that of several others the world has gained a great deal. Yet if I apply in an unselfish spirit the law of literary probabilities the odds seem to run the other way. The other things I might have done better are so numerous. At no stage of the whole affair, for example, has there been the slightest indication that God did not really mean me for a plumber or that that was not the true reason why I almost starved. Had I starved a little longer, I might in desperation or moved by some wayward impulse have begun to plumb, discovered a real passion and talent for the art, earned my own living by it instead of by puzzling people to no purpose, and so the ending would have been much happier all around. Misplacements of this sort are always occurring in letters, and committees do not readjust them.

We seem to be as much at sea in this matter as they were about 120 A.D., when the critic cursed the town for keeping alive so many poets and cursed it again for starving so many of them; wanted to know how a man could behold the horses of the chariot of the sun if he had to grub for a living, and wanted to drive most poets back to grubbing for a living as soon as he observed their manner of beholding the horses of the chariot of the sun; said you ought to fatten poets to make them sing, and became violently angry the moment a fat poet began singing; blamed a rich man for feeding a pet lion instead of subsidizing some author at much less expense, and was all for feeding the author to the lion on reading what he wrote. He wanted authors protected, but the literary choices made by the protector almost drove him mad. Juvenal, of course, was wholly unreasonable, but his state of mind corresponded quite exactly to the confusion of the case, and the confusion is still with us. He had no solution but the lame one that Caesar should select and subsidize the author, and he had already completely damned the average Caesar. But Caesar certainly seemed to be just as good a solution as any of those modern monsters with five respectable pairs of legs under a round table; those headless decapods that we call upon nowadays as committees to do our dubious jobs.

FRANK M. COLBY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Treitschke's Method

Treitschke's History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul, with an Introduction by William Harbutt Dawson. Volume one. New York: McBride, Nast & Co. $3.25.

"THERE are many ways of writing history, and each is justified so long as the style adopted is adhered to consistently and strictly. The aim of this book is simply to relate and to judge. . . The narrator of German history fulfills but half his task when he indicates the connection of events and expresses his views with frankness; he should also himself feel and should know how to awaken in the hearts of his readers—what many of our countrymen have already forgotten in the disputes and vexations of the moment—a delight in the fatherland."

So wrote Treitschke in the preface of his great history. One cannot help liking him for it. "The sinister figure of Treitschke" of which reviewers talk, was at least an open soul, incapable of dissimulation. He made no false pretenses. The judgments which are to be introduced into his narrative are to be frankly tempered by his prejudices. The rules of scientific history, such as Ranke laid down for the "purely objective" school of Treitschke's day—to reproduce the past in its own color and form, to interpret facts only as they were in their own day—are frankly ignored. Treitschke saw the past not as a section of time which had ceased to exist, but as a part of the ever-moving present, where the observer was morally bound to respond emotionally as well as intellectually to all the deeds and misdeeds of his fellows.

To the "scientific" historian the past is what the site of antique cities is to the antiquarian. It is a world in which he can work with detachment from the things of the present. He digs for his specimens and either catalogues them or "restores" them "as they actually were." This last phrase has the ring of a ritual in his ears and whatever his nationality he loves to repeat it to himself and his students in the consecrated phrase of Ranke, "wie sie eigentlich gewesen." Treitschke has a different aim. He is tolerant of the objective historian for "there are many ways of writing history and each is justified so long as the style adopted is adhered to constantly." But the past through which he wanders is not a land of the dead in another world. It is, on the contrary, a portion of the living present. Its forces, even its characters, are still moving and living. He liberates them and stirs them once more into activity in the world of to-day. Whereas the scientific worker preserves his records in archives, Treitschke attempts to embody his in the mind of his countrymen.

Among scholars there has been but one opinion about this kind of history. They do not deny that such work as his is literature, but challenge its claim to be true history. They regard the rules upon which he works as more fitted to the drama than to historiography. To stir the passions by a recital of great deeds or to stimulate the imagination by a description of past political institutions lies, they say, in the field of art; if accompanied by impartiality in research and unflinching loyalty to the data discovered, it may be incorporated into histories. But the very fact that the artist tries to fit these data to those of the present is, in the eyes of the critic, an indication that the criterion of selection and emphasis will be governed by what is, rather than by what was, with the result that the past will not be reproduced "wie es eigentlich gewesen."

This is familiar controversy. But the winning frankness with which Treitschke embraces what our historical seminars regard as the major fallacy of history, and takes the consequences, seems to place an obligation upon his reviewer to reconsider the problem—for the consequences, as all of us know, were considerable. Moreover, it is clear at the outset that the critics of Treitschke have prejudices of their own and a conception of history which recent thinking has rendered somewhat insecure. For the City of the Past in which they dig does not exist. There are no time-spaces to be measured and arranged. Events will not stay put. The external flux of things not only carries them along, it *is* them. The past enters into the very character of succeeding times. There is, therefore, a philosophical justification for the conscious attempt to reveal this subtle immortality of things, even when the clue lies in little more than the temper of a people. All great historians have done this, if without the consolations of Bergsonian philosophy at least by the aid of Bergsonian intuition. The matter, then, is not finally disposed of yet by the history seminars; and the judgment of the world when it acclaims its great historians is perhaps worthy reconsideration.

The real trouble with this vital kind of history—to think still in Bergsonian terms—is that it is exceedingly difficult, immeasurably more so than history of the antiquarian sort. The writer who can revive an actual past within an actual present must be both a scholar and a genius; while anyone can chronicle events. This combination of scholarship and genius is rare because of the restraining caution which scholarship demands is repulsive to the creative faculty which abhors restraint. In history, moreover, the situation is of exceptional difficulty; for the historian of this sort must be a critic of the present as well as of the past, since his

TIFFANY & CO.

DIAMONDS
IN MODERN SETTINGS

FIFTH AVENUE AND 37TH STREET
NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Courtesy of Mr. James Lenox Banks

"My Farm at the 5 Mile Stone"

5th Ave. Between 71st and 72nd Sts. (the old Lenox Farm), from a sketch made in 1875.

This and 96 other quaint and curious pictures of Old New York are shown in the revival of

VALENTINE'S MANUAL :NEW: SERIES

formerly published by the City of New York for nearly thirty years

These Manuals recorded the growth of our City each year from 1840 to 1870. The present issue, under the patronage of prominent New Yorkers, is designed to restore this old publication to its former position as historian of our City.

Ask to see the Manual at your nearest bookstore or send for 8 page circular to the editor, **Henry Collins Brown,** Anderson Galleries Building, New York.

One of the most famous of the aphorisms of Henry Monksommers may be paraphrased thus:

"HE WHO LOOKS BEFORE HE LEAPS BUILDS OF CYPRESS AND BUILDS FOR KEEPS."

Yours truly,

All-round Helps Department

Southern Cypress Mfrs.' Ass'n

1255 Hibernia Bank Building, New Orleans, La.
1255 Heard Nat'l Bank Building, Jacksonville, Fla.

P.S.—Have you yet taken your pen in hand to write for Vol. 1 of the Cypress Pocket Library—containing the unabridged U. S. Government Report on Cypress, "the Wood Eternal"?—and if not, why not?—because it also contains a full list of the other 40 volumes of this Lumber Users' Classic.

(Yes, indeed, it's worth getting! VERY MUCH.)

THE BUFFOON

A Borzoi Book

By Louis U. Wilkinson

"*The Buffoon* is undoubtedly remarkable. It contains a character study that is an achievement. And the book is well finished. . . . . This is art."—*Cleveland Plain Dealer.*

Cloth, 430 pages. Net, $1.50

ALFRED A. KNOPF, *Publisher*

220 West Forty-Second Street, New York

Buy the BORZOI BOOKS from your bookseller. He has them. If you want a complete catalog address the publisher.

picture of the one depends upon the other. This is a matter about which history seminars have bothered little, because they are seldom called upon to train students in this sort of work.

One can see now the real fallacy of Treitschke's work. It was his view of the present that was at fault. It was a narrow view, strictly limited. He exploited prejudices, and prejudices are by their very nature local products; the emotions to which he appealed were neither universal nor lasting. These very limitations made his work all the more a possession of those for whom it was written, for he furnished his delighted countrymen with a past which was especially their own. They therefore accepted it with the heart as well as with the head. Both author and public believed it was true, because they still experienced its reality. But the rest of the world paid little attention; this first volume of the history waited thirty-six years for an English translator. In fact the rest of the world became interested only when the school of war put the text-book in their hands. And to them it is obviously largely false.

Treitschke wasted no time in his history to prove the axiom that the German people had been and still was morally superior to the rest of mankind. That was taken for granted as a commonplace of the day. It was one of those great truths which the "Teutonist" historians proved, by a sentence or two of Tacitus and their own inclinations; and it is a striking commentary upon historical criticism that those immersed in texts—the so-called scientific historians—were its gravest defenders. The Romanists who combated the legend of German superiority were perhaps as biased upon their part. The antithesis they sought to prove lay really in the present, which moulded their prejudices. Fustel de Coulanges was fighting the *revanche* of 1870 with Merovingian records. Treitschke more naïvely shows the extent to which this national attitude had become unconscious, as for instance in his complacent comments upon Gallic inconstancy and immorality—common themes for those who do not know either French history or character—while insisting that his nation is "endowed with a natural understanding of the Latin world!"

Such innocence is hardly alarming. So far we have not met the "sinister" aspect of Treitschke. It was bad enough, to be sure, for him to think so narrowly, in terms of his own nation, but then so did Freeman and Green, Michelet and Waitz. Nor was there much more harm in seeing in this history the "continuous control of destiny," for so did any Christian historian of the nationalist school who believed in the Providential scheme of history. What was wrong with Treitschke was—Prussia itself. It is one thing to link up the Providence of God with English liberalism or French ideals of progress or the steady life of German institutions, as in the case of the historians just referred to; but it is another thing to see it moving forward by way of Hohenzollern practical politics and militarism. There had been policies of blood and iron in the histories of England and of France, but there the means had ceased to be the end; the present was crowded with other interests and open to wider sympathies, and the historians who gloried in the old style of history lost their audiences as they failed to reflect a more enlightened present. But Treitschke, like Machiavelli, found himself in a world where sweetness and light was playing little rôle. The stern process of the formation of his nation was still under way; and so his present, of which the past was a reflection, lacked the varied outlook which alone makes valid the judgments of history—such history, that is, as comes from the great, and not the antiquarian, historians.

This is but a hint at a new appraisal of Treitschke's work.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It does not deny the personal element, the vitriol in the temper of the man, the passion of his intolerance and the vigor of his hatreds; but it enables one to discriminate where he failed to do so—if our own outlook is free and universal.

JAMES T. SHOTWELL.

Magic and Scorn

Industrial Preparedness, by C. E. Knoeppel. New York: Engineering Magazine Co. $1.00.

Inviting War to America, by Allen R. Benson. New York: B. W. Huebsch. $1.00.

WE used to believe it plausible that war would be banished by its very horror, that this most fiendish of wars would necessarily be the last, because modern nerves would snap under it and modern stomachs become permanently nauseated. Each age, however, seems to find its own way of sublimating the raw crudity of blood and hate and destruction into something not only endurable but sublime, and Mr. Knoeppel's book shows us in the act of going about the same sardonic task. Pomp and panoply are gone, but in their place we have the glamor of science and efficiency. War and preparedness for war loom as the apotheosis of those ideals of business and organization which make the pulse of the modern man beat quicker. Blood and hate and destruction are as cunningly veiled as ever in a sensing of war as scientific management, as a high social technique, as a kind of industrial magic.

The author of "Industrial Preparedness" sees this war as "a gigantic chess-game, with Germany making the strongest and most vigorous plays, for behind it all you find the German direction, the German organization, the German planning, the German resources." His idealism does not look forward to the contribution of these principles towards a better international organization. Industrial efficiency and management are not to be turned to the abolition of conflict, but Clausewitz's principles of warfare are to be applied to industry, in order that the nation's strength may be kept always mobilized on the economic frontier. The naïve zest of the "industrial preparedness" advocates, their advocacy of all the social reforms that liberal democrats desire, should not blind our eyes to the shortness of their vision. It makes great difference whether you demand industrial efficiency and social wellbeing in order to found a brilliant and wasteless civilization on a peace buttressed by international organization, or whether you merely want to make your nation individually powerful, so that it can afford to play fast and loose in the old international competition for world-trade.

Mr. Knoeppel's attitude is entirely that of the capitalist-engineer. America must learn the lesson of industrial efficiency, in order that England and Germany, steeled to highest expertness by the war, shall not walk away with the world's business. The familiar circle! National vigor, in order that we may snatch at our share of imperial exploitation; and national vigor in order that we may back up our snatching and finally defend our hearths and homes in the war which our competition may breed! And what such an "industrial preparedness," directed by our ruling class, might mean to the workers, comes out from our author in an unguarded use as oracle of Mr. Emery of N. A. M. fame. How shall we meet, the latter asks, the low wages, long hours and high efficiency of the war-tried European nations, with our own *high* wages, *short* hours and *low*

ESTABLISHED 1845
MARK CROSS
TRADE MARK
LONDON
ACTUAL MAKERS

While Christmas shopping, remember—that the day after to-morrow will soon be the day before yesterday.

Mark Cross

New York
404 Fifth Avenue
(at 37th Street)
253 Broadway

Boston
145 Tremont Street

London
89 Regent Street

The World's Greatest Leather Stores

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

Four Important Books

THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES
By ARTHUR NICHOLS YOUNG
"Calm, unprejudiced, cumulative marshalling of the facts, description of the literature, analysis of the platform and narrative of the events that go to make up what is commonly known as the single tax movement."—*Christian Science Monitor.*
352 pages, cloth, $1.50 net, by mail, $1.58

A CRITIQUE OF THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION
By THOMAS HUNT MORGAN
An attempt is here made to put a new valuation on the traditional evidence for evolution. The thesis is developed that chance variation combined with a property of living things to manifold themselves, is the key note of modern evolutionary thought.
208 pages, cloth, illustrated, $1.50, by mail $1.58

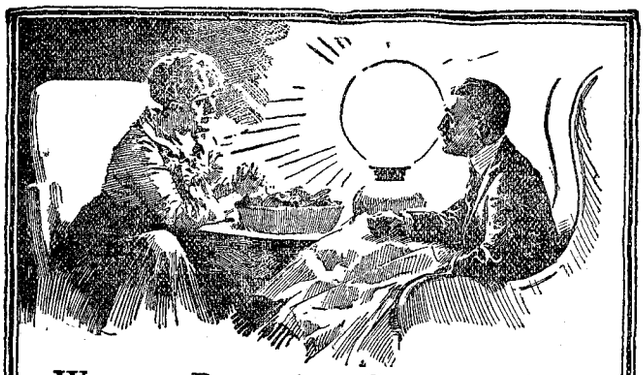
ENGLAND AND GERMANY: 1740-1914
By BERNADOTTE EVERLY SCHMITT
"One is inclined to deplore the time spent on other works in the same field because in the present volume there is presented such an excellent conspectus of all the elements of the problem, treated clearly, fairly, and without undue generalization."—*San Francisco Argonaut.*
524 pages, cloth, $2.00 net, by mail $2.10

HEREDITY AND EVIRONMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEN
Revised Second Edition
By EDWIN GRANT CONKLIN
"The general reader who gets from current literature quite contradictory and often distorted views as to the undertakings and possibilities of the Eugenics movement, will here find a correct and sane inventory of both."—*Science.*
548 pages, cloth, illustrated, $2.00 net, by mail $2.10

From All Bookstores or The Publishers

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
Princeton New Jersey

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



We are Becoming Conversational
NOBODIES!

"—why, do you realize that we seldom have anything to talk about, nowadays, except the children or the housework or the bills?"

"I know it. When people come in I'm really ashamed. I have never cared for small talk—but we haven't any 'large' talk. *We must brush up.* We must do some good reading."

"Yes—but what shall we read? It sounds like a funny question, with all the world of literature there is to choose from. But I must confess I don't know where to begin, or what to read, or how to choose."

"That's just it. We are both really interested in worth-while things—art, travel, history, literature, music, nature—but if we were to delve into all those things we'd just get into a maze, and we'd never get anywhere, and pretty soon we'd give it up. You *know* we would."

"You are right! Oh, if someone would tell us each day, in just a few minutes, even one thing we really ought to know—" And right here

The Mentor Association

comes into your lives. The Mentor Association has 70,000 members who, like you, are really interested in worth-while things, who have found that such things must be a part of every well-rounded existence, and who realize that they haven't the time or the special training to dig deep into all subjects.

Twice a month, the first and the fifteenth, they receive "The Mentor." Each time a special topic is discussed with absorbing interest by an authority who is also a gifted writer. And with each issue of "The Mentor" are six gravures or color pictures, reproduced on heavy paper which, added to the illustrations throughout the text, and the text itself, leave with you a graphic and vivid recollection of the subject.

For Instance

"The Mentor" of August 1 contained an unusually interesting and human article on Argentina by E. H. Newman, lecturer and traveler.

On August 15 "The Mentor" took to all members a discussion of Game Animals of America by that student of animal life, W. T. Hornaday, Director New York Zoological Park.

The September 1 issue was devoted to the life and the art of Raphael, told by Professor John C. Van Dyke, Rutgers College.

Hamilton W. Mabie wrote of Walter Scott in "The Mentor" of Sept. 15.

"The Yosemite Valley" was the subject of a discourse by Dwight L. Elmendorf in "The Mentor" of October 2, and you can well imagine the beauty of the accompanying pictures in color.

These are examples. The texts, from time to time, reach into the realms of Fine Art, Travel, History, Biography, Literature, Music, Domestic Art, Nature and Popular Science. Each is lavishly illustrated in addition to the separate gravures or color pictures.

But "The Mentor" itself is only part of what The Mentor Association means to you.

What Membership Brings

Briefly, membership in The Mentor Association gives you these five things:

First. 24 issues of "The Mentor," bringing a beautifully printed and illustrated story every two weeks, all about one subject, written by a leading authority upon that subject—300 pages during the year.

Second. 600 beautiful illustrations, distributed during the year through the text of the 24 issues of "The Mentor."

Third. 144 gravure or color pictures, reproduced on heavy paper, all ready for framing, in deep, rich tones that bring out all the beauty of the originals. On the back of each picture is a crisp five-minute description of the subject that is portrayed.

Fourth. Answers to any questions on art, travel, literature, history, nature or architecture; each answer by an authority.

Fifth. Authoritative Club Programs. Any program you may want for a club, a reading circle, a literary afternoon or evening—each made for you by an expert.

How to Join

The Mentor Association wants among its members only those people who love the finer things of life—who are interested in music, nature, art or travel—who have a real desire for self-improvement and broadening. If you are one of these people (and we believe you are, if you have read thus far), we cordially invite you to our membership.

But, first—*you* must be convinced. So we make this offer: write your name and address on the coupon below; tear it off and mail to us. Send no money; you will receive a copy of "The Mentor." If you like it, and want to join The Mentor Association, send $1 on receipt of a bill from us, and $1 each month for but two months thereafter until a total of only $3 has been paid.

A membership in The Mentor Association is yours for but $3 a year; 12½ cents for each issue of "The Mentor."

You are placed under no obligation by signing the coupon. This is a special offer. Don't let it pass. Tear out the coupon *now*, while it's on your mind.

New Rep., 12-2-16
THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION
52 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y.

Please send me one issue of "The Mentor." If, after reading it, I decide to become a member of "The Mentor Association, with all privileges as advertised, I will send you $1 on receipt of bill and $1 a month thereafter until $3 has been paid.

Name_____

St. and No._____

City_____

State_____

efficiency? Coiled in Mr. Knoeppel's enthusiasm lies this serpent's sting.

But his naïve imputation of magic makes you forget that "industrial preparedness" may mean exploitation of the workers, just as it makes you forget that military preparedness lays the bonfire for world-war. From the use of roast sawdust as an antiseptic to the invention of fireproof wood, from the Berlin continuation schools to the perfection of the German soldier's teeth, you are in an atmosphere that "easily rivals a tale from the Arabian Nights." The familiar tale of war science never grows weary. The grim ineptitudes of diplomacy, the butcheries of a helplessly unorganized international world, are all forgotten in the delights of modern alchemy and enchanted power. Those who are so eager to find in the present war the peril of science untempered by humanity should look at this book.

Where Mr. Knoeppel sublimates war into magic, Mr. Benson destroys it with scorn. He attacks industrial preparedness on account of what America lacks to make her happy. But chiefly his rage is against the way capitalistic sentiment fuses with militaristic sentiment. Mr. Knoeppel makes this fusion seem magical and alluring, Mr. Benson silly and pernicious. The preparedness campaign irritates him, drives him to looking up the Congressional Record and the testimony of admirals and generals before congressional committees to the effect that the country is now adequately defended. He tears through the veil of the newspapers to the facts and opinions about our "peril" that they do not print.

Satire and scorn blaze through this book. Mr. Benson makes you feel the deadliness of ridicule. If your idealism is to control war, he makes you understand that the age that ceased to create new sublimations for it and felt only its pompous absurdities, and the desperate stratagems of its preparation, would have gotten the war spirit under control. If his idealism does not contribute any more towards international organization—he merely seems to substitute a non-competitive national organism for a predatory one—it at least shows far greater insight into the reckless forces that an American preparedness without policy will let loose in the world.

The puzzle how deeply President Wilson feels these forces leads Mr. Benson to a clever analysis of his preparedness program. The truly Machiavellian attitude which our author imputes to his late Presidential rival elicits from him grudging admiration which he tries to suppress and which bursts through his invectives. Just so would Mr. Benson as Socialist President like to play the weasel to capitalistic national enterprise. But few socialist writers have so much psychological insight to color their vehemence. It is a genuine power for analysis of current history that makes Mr. Benson so interesting a pamphleteer. Mr. Knoeppel and he should be read together in order to ask one's self which is the greater realist, the practical engineer who wants America so tightly organized industrially that she may play for the "stakes of diplomacy" without fear, or the pamphleteering Socialist who writes, "If American capital, during the present war, could obtain control of all the world's markets outside of Europe, that moment our fate would be sealed. A combination of all the other nations would be made to destroy us. We could not build a navy strong enough to make us safe. The danger of America being involved in war is proportional to the size of our foreign trade and the extent of American investments abroad."

RANDOLPH BOURNE.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recent Publications

Chapel, by Miles Lewis. New York: George H. Doran Co. $1.35.

MOST of us are so unfamiliar with literature concerning Wales that our knowledge begins and ends with "Taffy Was a Welshman." In these circumstances it is refreshing to come upon a novel which records the life of a Porth family so vividly as to make plain the customs of Welsh housekeeping, of the management of estates there, of the conduct of a large building business, a law firm and the District Council—as these severally touch upon the family destiny. It is an arresting first novel;—the work of a lover of his land employed as a schoolmaster. He wrote, according to the Doran Company, "steadily for many years, with an eye to the future, scarcely attempting to publish what, he says, he had the grace to know was crude. He took a business position to broaden his contact with men. At last he was ready and wrote 'Chapel.'"

The story is concerned with the Chapel temperament; first, with Josiah Chapel, his ambitions, his struggles against his own nature, which he believes to be struggles against Fate, his jealousy of his son, his desire to reinstate the shattered Chapel family in the home and the prestige of his fathers. It is concerned, secondly, with Griff Chapel; his similar hopes and his achievement of them; his quarrel with his father, his marriage, and the final reconciliation of the two men.

This is a good conception; natural, interesting, and large. Nothing is more fascinating than the curious differences a family strain will show in individuals. But the book does not always come up to the author's idea for it. It is too long. Some of the incidents are dimly colored. The climaxes are not, with three exceptions, so well handled as the lesser incidents. Furthermore, though some narrowness and worldliness in the lives of the characters is intentional, there is a certain narrowness of treatment which is not intentional. Thomas Hardy's people often lead provincial lives, but they move against a magnificent background of profundities which makes sharp their clutching pigmy struggle.

These are the defects of "Chapel" without which it would be a great novel. It has many more virtues than defects. The death of Josiah's wife at the very beginning of the book and her subsequent influence on the lives of her husband and son, are remarkably treated. The people are all living. Some of them, as the old, adoring nurse, Betsy, who made the delicious pancakes for Griff, are full of charm. Many of the scenes are pictorial, as the revelations of great masters are pictorial. The little rocking ship, on the old clock, that Jane looked at on the night of Gwen's death—the same that was auctioned and that Chapel saw again in his successful son's house, when he brought Griff's wife home—this is as clear to us as anything in our own dwelling. It is with warm expectation that one waits for the next novel of so unusual and interesting a writer.

P. W. B.

Beef, Iron and Wine, by Jack Lait. New York: Doubleday Page & Co. $1.25.

IT is a true if depressing comment on public literary taste that one approaches with tremors the maiden book of the popular and successful Mr. Jack Lait. The titles, save three, ("The Imp of the Night," "Taxi, Mister," and "Ten Dollars' Worth") are not specially enticing.

THERE is one to whom your gift of a Steinway would be a priceless possession. The Steinway means so much more than an ordinary piano. The Steinway established the world's standard many years ago, and its exquisite tone and perfect mechanism are still unexcelled. To-day, as then, it is the choice of master musicians and music lovers the world over, because of its undisputed superiority. Its cost is but little more than pianos of lesser quality. In satisfying service it is beyond all price. Let a Steinway express your Christmas message this season. Terms are made convenient.

Write for illustrated literature about the

STEINWAY

STEINWAY & SONS, STEINWAY HALL
107-109 EAST FOURTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK
Subway Express Station at the Door

Always use Arkansas Soft Pine for Interior Trim...

NOT A HOUSE BUT A HOME

INDIVIDUALITY

in woodwork as well as general design is the thing you strive for when planning your new home.

That perplexing question "which wood" for the library, hall or bedroom is best answered in the use of

ARKANSAS SOFT PINE

Our homebuilders book will give you the "why of it" in every detail, while our samples and book of finishing directions, attractively illustrated, will supply the "how of it." We'll send them free. Write to-day. Architects should have our Manual—sent on request.

Arkansas Soft Pine is Trade Marked and sold by dealers. Yours can supply it.

ARKANSAS SOFT PINE BUREAU
1012 Bank of Commerce Bldg.,
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Review Devoted to Studies of Individual, National, and World Problems, from an American Point of View.

Books and Reading

A valuable supplement to other magazines for cultivated readers. It harkens back to writers of other generations and connects them up with the present. The first number consists of excerpts from the writings of James Bryce, John Bigelow, Victor Hugo, H. G. Wells, Frances A. Kellor, Julian K. Smyth, John Howard Spalding, and Georges Clemenceau, which have a bearing on matters of momentous present interest, together with critical comment by the editors.

Buy it to-day for intellectual satisfaction and permanent value. *25c. a copy.*

Contents of December Issue: Vol. I., No. 1

Europe Then and Now. Peace Given as the World Giveth. The Hinge of the Nineteenth Century. What Is Coming? The French Soldier's Philosophy of Life. What Is the Matter with America? The Use of Free Will. The Vision of Clemenceau. The Prayers of a Nation for Peace.

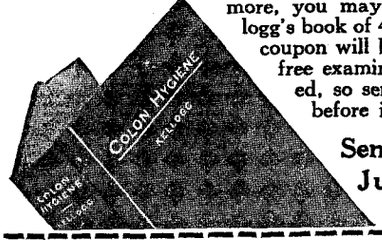
Send 25c. to-day for this number, or $1.00 for a year's subscription.

Books and Reading, 3 West 29th St., New York

Dangerous Indigestion

Indigestion, Constipation and the more serious ills to which they lead are so common and cause so much needless pain and suffering that Dr. John Harvey Kellogg has written a book telling how to prevent and remedy such disorders. The greatest living authority on diet and digestion here gives you the results of his forty years' experience as Superintendent of the Battle Creek Sanitarium where he has studied and treated thousands of cases of indigestion and resulting ills. "Colon Hygiene" is a book of facts—not theories. Do you want to renew your energy and stamina, stop suffering from headaches and backaches, have clear eyes, a smooth, ruddy skin, and feel the exhilaration of real good health tingling thru your body? If so, send this coupon now for a free examination of this splendid book. Learn how easy it is to live life anew—to acquire the dominant personality that comes from good health—to become suffused with the joy of living. All this, and more, you may get from Dr. Kellogg's book of 400 pages, which the coupon will bring to you. This free examination offer is limited, so send the coupon now before it is withdrawn.

Decide for yourself if this book can help you. Sent for your FREE examination



Send No Money—Just the Coupon

GOOD HEALTH PUBLISHING CO., 8412 Main St., Battle Creek, Mich.

Send me, all charges prepaid, "Colon Hygiene." After examination I will remit only $2 or return the book within five days at your expense.

Name.....

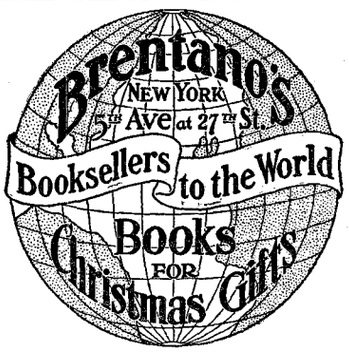
Address.....

.....

One begins, rather half-heartedly, to read, then to laugh, to enjoy, to give one's self up to enjoying, and finally to conclude that Mr. Jack Lait has a remarkable, really brilliant, gift. He has a slight leaning towards showiness, as when he speaks of the card of the reporter (evidently himself) "which opened doors of mayors' and millionaires' offices"; and a tendency to be smart in a newspaper way, making poor plays upon words rather than none at all, though his are sometimes quick and amusing. Occasionally he is a bit sentimental. There are not many faults, nor serious ones in a first book, and one feels sure that next time the author will, to imitate his own phraseology, be "not too Lait to mend." As to the good qualities of the stories, they are many. Dramatic power and a wonderful dexterity with suspense and climax; a sense of the rich, varied flow of life; clear truthfulness; a splendid impartiality that takes "dips" and burglars, chorus girls, hoboes, millionaires, policemen, beggars and politicians quite on their own terms, and presents them, apparently simply—but how wisely, as fellow human beings. These, and a certain welling sympathy for brave unfortunates, are some of the most glowing attributes of the book. Best of all is the story named, so ineptly, "Lars, the Useless, Was a Nuisance, so He Got a Public Office and Threw His Love to the Birds." Here is a name bidding cheaply for original appeal, a clumsy name and a humorless one, a name to frighten away the reader. Underneath it is work of extreme delicacy, of a fineness of texture and loveliness of conception reminiscent of some of Daudet's "Lettres de Mon Moulin."

The Painted Scene, by Henry Kitchell Webster. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co. $1.50.

THESE are extremely interesting stories. Parts of them are wise or tender or humorous; parts of them are so remarkable and so unique as to assure the reader that Mr. Webster will write perfectly rounded short stories. Two of these are nearly that. In the face of the modest preface, it seems captious to mention that the rest are not rounded. Yet, for this reader, that is the fact. Sometimes the characters are not realized. One does not fully believe in old Keziah Strong, the wardrobe mistress of New England tradition; or in the successful chorus girl who returns to offer twenty-eight hundred and forty-one dollars and fifty-one cents to the obscure clarionet player, whose song she has stolen; or in "The High Brow Lady," Enid Carew-Powell. Sometimes Mr. Webster's knowledge of the stage world does not seem sufficient. Sometimes there is a tendency to "smartiness" and then the reader wants instead the author's delightful and discriminating comment. The scenes are well done, especially such Chicagoan haunts as The University Club, Lincoln Park, "the public" beach, and "the Edgewater" Riding Academy. And the best of the stories, "Heart of Gold" and "The Painted Scene," are full of delicacy, penetration and charm.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED